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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.



DUBLIN UNIVERSITY PRESS SERIES.

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO,
//
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH
A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,
AND
INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

BY
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VOL. VI.



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PREFACE.

IN bringing out the sixth volume, which completes the CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO, we wish again to thank our readers and reviewers for kindly encouragement and valuable suggestions. We expect that the volume containing the Index will appear within a year. The task undertaken twenty years ago will then have been accomplished. Indeed, something more will have been attempted. For it was no part of the original design to include the Letters of Brutus, which we then believed to be spurious, but which we are now convinced are genuine.

We are aware that twenty years is a long time to spend on an edition, even of such a massive, difficult, and important body of literature as the Correspondence of Cicero. Doubtless, we might have done the work as well, or better, in half the time, had we devoted to it our whole leisure and attention. There were difficulties in the way of our doing so, into which we need not enter here. We did not use despatch. We took our time. And it was fortunate that we did so :

‘ Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well.’

If we had finished the edition in ten years from its inception, we should have missed that flood of light which in the last decade the labours and genius of many Continental scholars—especially O. E. Schmidt, Gurlitt, and Lehmann,—have thrown on the text,

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b

PREFACE.

history of the mss, and the chronological sequence of the
ers. The readers of the fifth and sixth volumes will see into
t a rich inheritance we have come through the slowness of our
ress.

We see with satisfaction that many of our views have com-
ded themselves to the learned editor of the Letters to Atticus,
e Teubner Series. We are especially pleased to find that *μη*
δου—our correction of the ms ΜΙΑΣΚΟΡΔΟΥ—has ousted
time-honoured *μίασμα δρνός* in Att. xiii. 42 (681).

subjoined is the Table of new readings in this Volume.

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Reading either accepted in the Text (Roman type) or recorded with approbation in the Notes (italic type).	Editor to whom the reading is due.
DCCLXXVII. 3.	tamen.	.. ..	etiam.	Wes.
DCCLXIV. 3.	quod egerit.	quid egerit.	quod egerit.	Lehm.
DCCLXIX. 1.	Asta ea.	ast, or at st.	<i>a Septimia.</i>	Edd.
ibid.	sine vallo.	sine felle.	<i>sine φραγματι.</i>	Edd.
DCCLVI. 2.	Octavius, or Octavianus.	Octavius.	Octavianus.	O. E. Schmidt.
ibid.	Sed ei, or Sed.	Sed st.	<i>Sed.</i>	Edd.
ibid.	quod egerint.	quid egerint.	quod egerint.	Lehm.
DCCLVII. 4.	priores.	.. ..	<i>et si res.</i>	Boet.
ibid. 6.	quisquam.	quisquam.	quisquam.	Edd.
DCCLVIII. 4.	Sum.	.. ..	<i>Cura.</i>	Rhodius.
DCCLXI. 2.	volam.	.. ..	volo.	Wes.
DCCLXIII. 3.	aut frequens.	haud infrequens.	frequens.	Graev.
DCCLXV. 2.	scio.	.. ..	sciam.	Wes.
DCCLXVIII. 2.	te isse in Syria (or -am).	te isse in Syriam.	te esse in Syria.	Ed. Neap.
DCCLXIX. 1.	meum.	me unum, or meum <animum>	me virum.	Wes.
DCCLXXIII. 2.	te ipauineas, or ipseum uineas.	te ipse uineas.	<i>te ipsum uineas.</i>	Mendelssohn.



	hoo or huc.	huc.	hoo (= huc).	
DOCCXLVIII. 2.	hoo or huc.	huc.	hoo (= huc).	Mendelssohn.
DOCCXL. 1.	congressus.	..	congressus <cum>.	Wes.
ibid.	xx.	..	[XX]	Meyer.
ibid. 2.	statuit.	..	<sed> statuit.	Edd.
ibid.	id or eundum.	id.	eundum <domum>.	Edd.
ibid.	esse debet or esse debere.	esse.	esse debere.	O. E. Schmidt.
DOCCXLII. 3.	indicat.	..	indicatum.	O. E. Schmidt.
DOCCXLIII. 2.	et rei (or re) p. esse.	et cum re p. esse.	tecum & re p. esse.	Bücheler.
DOCCXLV. 5.	numerus nunc legionum.	..	nimirum nunc legiones.	Boot.
DOCCXL. 2.	decem.	..	essenti.	Schelle.
ibid.	transierunt.	..	transierant.	Wes.
ibid. 3.	meo.	meo <Antonium>.	meo.	Mendelssohn.
DOCCXLI. 3.	miisque or nimisque.	in eisque, omitting in quibus.	nimisque.	Edd.
DOCCXLIV. 2.	videri.	..	<me> videri.	Edd.
ibid. 5.	vivere.	..	vivere <per se>.	Edd.
ibid.	mortuo.	..	mortuo <eo>.	Cobet.
ibid. 7.	ullis.	..	illis.	Lehm.
ibid. 11.	magnitudine.	..	magnitudine <animi>.	Vict.
DOCCXLV. 5.	referat	..	<ad Ciceronem> referat.	Edd.
DOCCXLVI. 3.	causa sit.	..	causa <en> sit.	Edd.
DOCCXLIX. 1.	equitum itaque or equitum M. itaque.	<cura> causa sit, or something similar. equitum * * Itaque.	equitum milia quinque.	Madv.

PREFACE.

	<p>recorruer with approximation in the Notes (Italic type).</p>	
t or habebat	habebat . . . absit.	Mendelssohn.
..	eo <loco>.	Wes.
..	legione capta.	Edd.
..	<frau> de C. Antonii.	C. F. Hermann.
..	despererint.	C. F. W. Müller.
..	Popili.	Gardthausen.
..	exegeram.	Mendelssohn.
..	auctorare.	Madv.
..	fide.	Bücheler.
..	Bibuli <ali>orum.	Edd.
..	nisi forte.	Meyer.
..	neque solecum puto (cp. p. cxiii).	Schelle.
..	[hoc ipsum nimium.]	Edd.
..	{ fatalis or	Koch. }
..	{ capitalis.	Lehm. }
..	{ v. mestris or	Man. }
..	{ vi. mestris.	Lange. }

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CORRIGENDA.

When the *line* only is given the reference is to the text ; *a* = first column of notes,
b = second column of notes.]

- Line.
18, add 'prudenter' before 'te'.
4, omit comma after 'quia.'
b 12, for 'omits' read 'omit'.
a 1, add '2' before 'liberalitatem'.
20, for 'non potuisses' read 'feri non potuisset'.
8, for 'videsur' read 'videtur'.
4, for 'quantus' read 'quantas'.
6, for 'ut' read 'ut'.
8, omit 'in' before 'belli'.
b 8, after 'vel' add 'as is done by H Pal'.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—CICERO AT THE HEAD OF THE STATE.

DURING the month of August, 710 (44), Antony had been compelled to act with a considerable degree of circumspection. Even his soldiers did not appear to be loyal to him; and the name of Caesar and the temperate and liberal behaviour of the youth who had inherited that name compelled him to make overtures to the Senate. Accordingly, he summoned a meeting for September 1st, and for that meeting Cicero, at the request of Brutus, returned to Rome. Cicero never travelled with much rapidity if he could help it; on the present occasion he traversed the 240 miles of road from Velia in about fourteen days, and reached the city on the 31st of August. He did not appear in the Senate on September 1st; he said he was too fatigued by his journey. This was probably, in a measure, the real reason of his absence, though Antony thought it was a mere excuse; and, with his accustomed violence of language, threatened that he would 'pull his house about his ears' if he did not come.* Cicero knew that he needed to speak with circumspection; and accordingly did not deem it advisable to appear until he was fully rested. He knew, too, that his patience would be sorely tried at that meeting; for a proposal was to be made that to all public thanksgivings a day

* Phil. v. 19, *Huc nisi venirem Kal. Sept. etiam fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit.* This, perhaps, may not have been meant in a strictly literal sense: all Antony may have wished to express by his violent words was that he would make Cicero declare himself in some way or other. We feel sure that the charges of drunkenness which Cicero made against Antony were not all inventions: and that the real hatred which he felt for Cicero came out when, owing to excesses, his nerves were not fully under control.

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honour of Caesar should be added. An inexpiable violation of religion would be perpetrated if public thanksgivings were celebrated in honour of a dead man;* and the genuinely conservative and Roman sensibilities of Cicero might have justly been offended, with considerable violence, an attempt to make a god the tyrant. So Cicero wisely did not attend the meeting. Next day, however, the Senate met under the presidency of Dolabella, and Antony did not appear. At this meeting Cicero delivered the First Philippic.† The subject was the general state of politics. Beginning his survey of recent events from the 17th March, when, in the Temple of Tellus, he 'laid the foundations of peace' by proposing amnesty, he contrasts the constitutional procedure of Antony up to the 1st of June and his highly unconstitutional and tyrannical behaviour after that date. Seeing the great strength of Antony (Cicero goes on to say), he despaired of any improvement in affairs until the new consuls entered upon office in January. Accordingly he left Rome, but was induced by Brutus to return. Having returned then to take his part in the administration of his country, he at once declared that he was

He further appeals to Dolabella and Antony to tread the path of true glory, as they did in the weeks succeeding the death of Caesar, and to guide the State so that the citizens may be glad that they are alive. The universality of the applause given to the tyrannicides at the games is proof that the voice of genuine public opinion is in their favour. He thanks the Senate for listening to him; he expresses satisfaction at having had an opportunity of clearly setting forth his opinions; and in conclusion assures the Senate that he will devote all his remaining energies to the service of his country. 'Of years and glory I have had enough; any addition thereto will be devoted not to myself, but to you and to the State.'*

This exceedingly temperate and statesmanlike speech irritated Antony beyond measure. The violent man of action could not tolerate the free, though measured, speech of the man of ideas, who was on intimate terms with Brutus and Cassius, was kindly disposed to Octavian, and, to all intents and purposes, hostile to himself. He renounced friendship with Cicero, and challenged him to come to the Senate on the 19th. Meanwhile he took the utmost pains, with the help of large potations of wine, to elaborate a harangue which was to crush Cicero when the meeting took place.†

Cicero very properly did not appear at that meeting. He knew the hostility of the soldiers towards anyone who sympathized with the tyrannicides, and justly considered that his life would be in danger if he replied at once to Antony.‡ Besides Cicero was not brave enough to speak with effectiveness to a violently hostile and turbulent audience, as was shown by his collapse in Milo's case. Moreover, the nature of Antony's speech quite justified his absence. For, besides holding up Cicero's whole

* Phil. i. fin, *Mihi fere satis est quod vixi vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam: huc si quid accesserit non tam mihi quam vobis reique publicae accesserit.*

† 825, 4; 790, 1, 'The gladiator wants a massacre, and thought to commence it with me on the 19th of September. On that day he came well prepared after having studied his speech for many days in the villa of Metellus: yet what "study" can there be in the midst of debauchery and wine-bibbing. Accordingly all considered him, as I said to you before, in his usual style to be disgorging, not delivering, a speech (*vomere more suo, non dicere*).'

‡ Phil. ii. 42; v. 19; 790, 1; 825, 4.

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ical career to contempt, he dwelt especially on the fact that was the real originator of the idea of assassinating Caesar. He did this in order that the veterans might be roused against him.* Though false in a literal sense, yet, perhaps, in a deeper sense, this charge was not without foundation; for it is quite plain that the writings of Cicero from 708 to 710 (46 to 44) were directed, in large measure, to inculcate hostility to the tyrant, and keep alive the flame of loyalty to the republic. So Antony's speech was unanswered at the time. During the rest of the month the state of affairs seemed to Cicero desperate (*perditis rebus*). He appears to have been in serious alarm at the course events were taking; and when writing to Cassius, after speaking of the vigour and resolution to resist Antony which most of the republicans displayed, he urges him and Brutus to return at once and restore the Senate to its rightful position.†

The republicans were terrified, and Antony had it all his own

Military law prevailed at Rome; the proceedings there were those of a camp not of a State.‡ Antony erected a statue of Caesar on the Rostra, with the subscription PARENTI OPTIMO. He went, and in a speech delivered at a meeting to which he was

Obviously Antony was becoming more and more irritated and violent at the opposition which was being directed against him; and when he finally left Rome on October 9, to take command of the four legions at Brundisium, he practically declared war against the State, and threatened that he would remain at the city with his army after his consulship had expired, and would enter and leave it at his pleasure.* Soon after this, about the middle of October, Cicero left Rome, and, until the 9th of December, remained either in Campania or Arpinum. It was about this time that he wrote, among other works,† the *De Officiis*, dedicating it to his son Marcus, who was at the time studying, or rather idling, at the University of Athens.

The young Octavian saw the position of affairs clearly. Antony had opposed him at every turn,‡ and resistance was

then, if ever, the sinews of war; and if Octavian was not able to give large donations to his soldiers, he would not be able to carry on any opposition. It is a little amusing to hear Cicero accusing Antony of winning over soldiers by money (792, 2), as he knew that Octavian did the same. 'Octavian gained over the veterans at Capua and Casilinum; and no wonder, for he gave them 500 denarii a-piece' (797, 1). But Cicero did not consider that gift a bribe or a squandering of money; it was an investment for the safety of the State (Phil. iii. 3). Appian (B.C. iii. 39) gives a strange account of the hysterical way in which Octavian was said to have conducted himself when accused of the attempted murder. Appian's remarks on the whole transaction are not without interest. The people (he says) did not know what to make of it. Some thought it was a 'got-up' thing (*πρόκειμα*) between the two to delude their enemies. Others, that Antony wanted to get a larger body-guard, and to alienate the veterans from Octavian. Appian himself is in doubt whether Antony was lying (*σκολοφαντῶν*), or really believed that Octavian was plotting against him, or had heard that Octavian had sent men into his camp, and interpreted attacks on his policy as attacks on his life. The wiser heads knew that it was all to Octavian's advantage that Antony should live.

* Phil. iii. 27; v. 21.

† Cp. 794, 3; 799, 3, 4.

‡ Antony had hindered the passing of the curiate law, which was necessary for the adoption of Octavian into the family of Caesar. Also, when Octavian had proposed to introduce the golden throne and crown, Antony had opposed him. Afterwards, when Octavian set up a brazen statue of Caesar with the comet above his head, and there was a strong exhibition of public feeling on his behalf, Antony had even used violent measures towards him (Dio Cass. xlv. 5). Again, when the people wished to elect Octavian *tribunus suffectus*, he issued a consular edict that young Caesar should not take any illegal step, or he (Antony) would use against him the full extent of his power; and finally, when the people still seemed likely to elect him, Antony declared that the election should not take place, and that the tribunes already in office, were quite sufficient (App. iii. 31). Compare also Vell. ii. 60, *C. Caesar iuvenis cotidianis Antoni petebatur insidiis*, and Plutarch Ant. 16.

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erative. But resistance required legions, and legions required money.* By virtue of his official position as consul, Antony had the technical command of the legions already in the possession of the State. So Octavian was compelled to turn to Caesar's veterans, who had been settled in Campania, but who were, as Roman soldiers of the last century of the Republic always were, averse to the hard and dull work of agriculture, and were on the look-out for some more exciting business. When the heir of the old general sent emissaries among them to sound their views on the subject of disseminating programmes of his policy,† and when he offered them 2000 sesterces a man, the veterans gathered round him; and to the amazement of Cicero, about November 12, before Antony returned from Brundisium, he appeared at the gates of the city with 10,000 men.‡

But Octavian was not by any means inclined to act without the sanction of the Senate, or by virtue of the mere brute force of soldiery. He wished to act through the Senate, and have all the prestige and influence of that great name to support his cause when he came to an open rupture with Antony. But he did not delude himself with the belief that the Senate would be devoted to him; and

advised his going to Rome (797). † Octavian also urged that Cicero should return to Rome, in order that he and the Senate might avail themselves of 'his advice.' The ghosts of the old times must have risen before Cicero's mind when now, as then, the Caesar was vigorous, but Cicero temporized (798, *ille urget, ego autem σκήπτρομαι*).

'I cannot trust his years; I do not know his intentions; I must have Pansa's co-operation (cp. 809, 1); I fear the strength of Antony; and I do not wish to leave the sea. On the other hand, I am afraid some deed of derring-do may be performed in my absence.'

Every day letters came from Octavian urging Cicero to be a second time the saviour of society, and at all events to come to Rome without delay (799, 6).

'My feelings are those of the Trojans when challenged by Ajax—

Willing to wound and yet afraid to strike.

Octavian has acted, and continues to act, with the greatest vigour.* He will come to Rome with great forces; but he is a mere boy. He thinks that the Senate will at once meet; but who will come or venture to offend Antony? He may help us on January 1st; or the contest may be decided before that. The country-towns are enthusiastic for the lad. The *accueil* and encouragement which greeted him were marvellous. Could you ever have expected it? Accordingly I shall go to Rome sooner than I intended. When I have made up my mind I shall write.'

A little more than a week previously Cicero had agreed with Atticus that he would not engage in the contest either in van or rear, but only sympathize with the cause.†

Many of the distinguished senators, even those who had little sympathy with Brutus and Cassius (for instance Hirtius), were already disgusted at the overbearing violence of Antony (cp. 787, 1), and were not sorry to see some hope now that a check

* By degrees the great merits of Octavian, 'braver than any young man, wiser than any of his elders' (Dio xlv. 5), won Cicero's honest admiration; and hence there is a fine ring in the panegyric on his actions, which Cicero delivered in December after Antony was driven from Rome (cp. Phil. iii. 3 ff.; iv. 2; also the elaborate comparison of the youthful exploits of Pompey and Octavian in Phil. v. 43 ff.). If we may believe Plutarch (Cic. 45), the relation between the two was so close that Octavian called Cicero 'father.'

† 794, 1, *Adsentior tibi ut nec duces simus nec agmen cogamus; faveamus tamen*.

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ld be put to his career of mere force. All this Cicero knew, cannot but have considered that he would hold a very high position as leader of the Senate with the army of Octavian ready to his bidding; and, above all, that he would have a most brilliant revenge on Antony.* But still he could not wholly overcome the uncomfortable feeling that alliance with the heir of a monarch was not only dangerous,† but, in a measure, an act of treachery to his principles; and, however much Octavian appeared that he would act through the Senate, and protested through Oppius that he had no designs against the tyrannicides, as evidence of these sentiments stated that he would make opposition to the appointment of his special enemy Casca to the Senate (807, 3), Cicero could not in his heart of hearts feel very confident.‡ But it was a choice of evils; and it is certain that there was no other course open but to accept the support of Octavian, who promised that he would act in all respects through the Senate, and who might prove (Cicero thought) a docile pupil (844, 1); in any case if he showed inclination to play the monarch after crushing Antony, he could be crushed in turn by Brutus and Cassius. The great thing for the moment was to free

this time, fear the danger of rearing the lion's whelp in the State; his repugnance to join with Octavian was mainly an affair of sentiment and principle.*

A comio scene in this serious drama is enacted by young Quintus. He had been 'Antony's right-hand man, save the mark' (*Antonii dextella*), and hoped to get from him what he had failed to get from Caesar.† But later he declared that he could not tolerate Antony, and was determined to transfer his valuable services to Brutus and Cassius; he added, that Antony has asked him to nominate him diotator, and to seize some strong position in order to secure his tyranny, but that he had refused lest he should offend his father, with whom he appears, however, to have quarrelled. He now professed a desire to live with his father. Quintus was delighted; Marcus was amazed. 'Did you ever,' he asks Atticus, 'see a more thorough-going vapourer' (*certiorem nebulonem*)?‡ Mixed up with this lunatic conduct (*alucinari*) of young Quintus is some project of marriage on his part with a lady—a widow of no great charms of person—the details of which affair we cannot clearly understand. But, at any rate, young Quintus became a reformed character, appears to have read his uncle's treatise on Moral Duties, and was reconciled with Brutus. Cicero assured Atticus that he had sown his wild oats, and cast off all his old evils ways. But, true son of his father, he was still as foolishly violent as ever. With the enthusiasm of a

* 807. 3, *Iurat 'ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat' et simul dextram intendit ad statuum.* Μηδὲ σωθελὴν ἐπὶ γε τοιοῦτον. This is taken from the last letter to Atticus which we possess. Cicero shortly afterwards returned to Rome, and the correspondence ceased for a time. No doubt, Cicero wrote many more letters to Atticus, but it is probable, as Gurlitt (Jahrb. 1894, p. 209–224) suggests that Tiro was not allowed by Augustus to publish any of the later letters which were written to his confidential friend. They doubtless reflected too candidly on that portion of the great Emperor's life on which he must have looked with least complacency. The loss to us is irreparable. The only correspondent with whom Cicero is in the least intimate during the next six months is Cornificius; but Cicero is very far from unlocking his heart to him with the same key as he did to his tried and trusty friend. That he was the lifelong friend of Cicero is the best title which Atticus has to our notice. As a man he was careful and shrewd, but nothing more; there was never anything grand or noble in his character. He was the quintessence of prudent mediocrity.

† Att. xiv. 20, 5 (727); 17, 3 (724).

‡ Att. xv. 21 (753); or read *certiorem*, 'crack-brained,' 29, 2 (768).

INTRODUCTION.

gade, added to the violence of his temperament, he wanted to do some great thing; and accordingly proposed to arraign the outgoing quaestors, and through them Antony, of embezzling public moneys.* Antony attacked young Quintus in a public edict, 'not to be forgiven,' says Cicero (Phil. iii. 17), 'that attack from Antony is irreparable.' We do not hear anything further of misconduct or treachery on the part of young Quintus, and he died honourably during the proscriptions endeavouring to save his father's life.

When Octavian reached Rome, about the middle of November, he commissioned Ti. Cannutius to state to the Senate his views on his loyal sentiments. Cannutius did so, and delivered a violent invective against Antony. Contrasted with the brilliant and divine eloquence of Cicero, it was, says Velleius, as the barking of an angry dog.† Presently Octavian entered the city and set forth his policy himself, punctuated by the solemn, but solemn, asseveration: 'so may I be permitted to obtain the honours of my father.'‡ But he could not wholly trust his soldiers to fight Antony,§ who was now in full march from Brundisium with one legion. So he retired to Arretium, and there proceeded

Things looked very favourable for Antony; but he proved his own enemy. He scourged some soldiers at Suessa whom he had imprisoned, probably owing to a mutinous spirit which they displayed after the emissaries of Octavian had tampered with them:* and when the legions in Brundisium became disorderly,—owing to the promises of Octavian, and the regard in which they had held him when both he and they were at Apollonia,† but chiefly owing to the comparatively small donation which they had received from Antony, only 400 sesterces,—he executed a number of centurions and soldiers‡ in order to enforce discipline. Antony had the virtues and vices of a military man, and he would never tolerate anything like disobedience or mutiny. But the time had gone by for such rigour: it was out-of-date;§ and the result was that when Antony hurried off to Rome with the Legio Alaudarum, ordering the other legions to follow him, the Martian legion, and shortly after the Fourth, deserted him, and joined Octavian.

The fortune of the struggle seemed once again to have changed. Antony had issued an edict calling a meeting of the Senate for November 24, and, according to Cicero, had threatened death to his enemies, the tribunes, L. Cassius, D. Carfulenus, and Ti. Cannutius, if they appeared; while declaring, at the same time, that he would regard any senator who failed to be present as having conspired against his life.|| He entered the city ostentatiously in regular military array,¶ and postponed the meeting to the 28th. Cicero says he did so because he was drunk; but, from another passage, it would appear that he considered it necessary to

* Cp. App. iii. 43.

† Cp. App. iii. 31, 39, 40, 43; Nic. Dam. 31.

‡ Cicero says three hundred (Phil. iii. 10), an obvious exaggeration. It was further stated that the executions were carried out in the presence of Antony's wife, Fulvia, Phil. xiii. 18; cp. iii. 4.

§ Cp. Tac. Hist. i. 18 of the niggardliness and severity of Galla, *Nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia severitas cui iam pares non sumus*.

¶ Phil. iii. 19, 23.

¶ Phil. xiii. 19 *dextra sinistra*: cp. App. iii. 45 *ἔσσει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς τὴν μὲν ἑλὼν πρὸ τοῦ ἱστεοῦ στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους· συνθήματα τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ*. That this was a grave scandal is noticed in iii. 52; cp. Phil. v. 17 *Unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post urbem conditam palam secum habuit armatos*.

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to Tibur and to confirm the loyalty of the soldiers who were quartered there.* Returning for the meeting of the Senate, he appeared, no one knew whence (*per Gallorum cuniculum* Phil. 20). Many distinguished senators attended the meeting, and the consular brought a written motion that Octavian be declared enemy.† But the news had just arrived that the Fourth, as was the Martian legion, had deserted. Antony hastily carried through‡ a resolution that a public thanksgiving be solemnized in honour of Lepidus for having successfully conducted negotiations for peace with Sext. Pompeius; and also, in an evening sitting, he passed a number of decrees, concerning which Cicero says the registration formalities took less time than the drafting.§ At the same meeting the lot, according to a marvellously providential fitness of things, assigned in nearly every case to Antony's supporters just those very provinces which each wished to obtain:|| and, by a remarkable dispensation, Macedonia fell to the lot of his brother Gaius Antonius. Afterwards, on the night of the

Phil. xiii. 19 *ibi pestifera illa Tiburi contio*. Appian (iii. 46) said that almost the

28th,* Antony hastened from Rome, first to Tibur, then to Alba Fucentia, where the Martian legion was encamped.† Failing to recover its allegiance he marched rapidly to Ariminum, where he hoped to join the forces advancing leisurely from Brundisium under the leadership of his brother Lucius, and, in virtue of his consular power, to occupy a position in Cisalpine Gaul before the end of the year, so as to have a firm footing there when his formal rule over that province should legally begin on January 1st.‡ Notwithstanding that the accounts which we have of Antony's actions at this time come from an opponent, it is quite plain that in the difficulties which so suddenly beset him he acted with promptitude, vigour, and courage.

Now that Antony no longer threatened the city, the more constitutional part of the Senate, with the military support of Octavian and the two legions which had recently joined their side, might take the offensive. Cicero returned to Rome on December 9th,§ and for the next seven months he was the statesman who led the republic. Immediately after the departure, or flight, of Antony from Rome, Cicero published the Second Philippic. He had issued a few copies for private circulation in October; and we have interesting accounts of corrections made, and of questions asked by Atticus on certain passages.|| The publication of this eloquent tirade was a challenge to Antony to combat *d'outrance*, a combat in which an impartial spectator who knew the spirit of the times might safely say that the worst cause would be victorious.¶

* Cp. Ep. ad Caes. iun. ii. 9 (Nonius 538) *Antonius demens ante lucem paludatus*.

† Phil. iii. 6.

‡ Phil. iii. 1; v. 24. Antony had three of the Macedonian legions, and one legion of veterans, App. iii. 46.

§ See Introd. note to 809. Cicero's money affairs seem to have required attention at this time: they were somewhat straitened, as Dolabella had not repaid Tullia's dowry, cp. 807, 5.

|| Cp. 794, 1; 799, 1-3. The minute care with which Cicero elaborated his sentences may be well seen from § 2 of this letter, *Illud etiam malo 'indignissimum est hunc vivere' quam 'quid indignius'* (Phil. ii. 86); yet this latter has remained in our manuscripts. As it was obscure who the *Anagnini* were in § 103, Cicero added their names.

¶ Cp. Dio xlv. 32, 1 (of the state of affairs in February 711 (43)) *οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἄτε καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ἅμα καὶ ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς βαρούμενοι, ἐδυσχέρανον καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἄβηλον μὲν ἦν ὑπότερος αὐτῶν κρατήσει, πρόβηλον δὲ ὅτι τῷ νικήσαντι δουλεύουσι.*

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Antony was removed, but certain constitutional difficulties precluded any active steps being taken. Of the consuls, Dolabella left Rome in the autumn, probably in September or October, Antony had just fled. The praetor urbanus, C. Antonius, was gone in response to the will of Providence* to administer the province of Macedonia. So there was no one to take the initiative on any political measure, and, what was the chief point, there was no consul to raise levies for the senatorial party.† It was necessary to wait for the kalends of January, when Hirtius and Pansa would become consuls; nothing definite or final could be enacted until then. Meanwhile the most important consideration was to secure proper protection for the Senate, so that a really free debate on the general position of affairs might be held at the beginning of the new year. Though the constitutionalists had a majority in the Senate, still the party which favoured Antony,—composed of followers of Julius Caesar and Antony, and headed by Fulvius Plautius, who had ever been an enemy of Cicero, and whom Cicero had no wish to conciliate‡—was very considerable. To take measures for this security a meeting of the Senate was summoned by

the new consuls should, as soon as possible, see that the honours already voted to Octavian and the two legions which had joined the Republic should be conferred. These motions were carried. Passing from the Senate to the people, Cicero delivered the Fourth Philippic to an enthusiastic crowd. He spoke of the measures passed by the Senate, and said that they amounted to a declaration of war against Antony.

On the 19th Cicero wrote (811) to D. Brutus, and urged him to continue to act with the same spirit which he had hitherto displayed, and to regard the real will of the Senate as if it was their formally expressed opinion—for the free expression of sentiment was hindered by intimidation. This shows the uncertainty which Cicero felt as to the staunchness of the chief constitutional body through which he had to work, as well as the considerable power which the Antonians still possessed. It is a confirmatory evidence of the widespread sympathy with Antony which (according to Appian) was shown by the Senate on the occasion of his recent entry into the capital. On the next day Cicero wrote again (812) to Decimus, referring with modesty to the manner in which he had that day supported his interests.* During the following months Cicero considered that this was the day on which he laid the foundation of the revived State (817, 2 *fundamenta rei p. ieci*: cp. Phil. v. 30), and on which he inspired the people with the hope that they would recover their liberty (819, 2); adding, naively, that it was by enthusiasm, rather than by arguments (*magis animi quam ingenii viribus*), that he obtained this great success; ‘and from this day I have never ceased, not merely to think, but to act, in defence of the State’ (819, 2; cp. 817, 2). Before the end of the year, Cicero wrote to Cornificius (813) to inform him of the events of the 20th, and to urge him to maintain his province and his dignity. Cicero had taken on his shoulders the entire burden of the State, and bore it for the next seven months with a fervid energy and courage which almost bordered on fanaticism. The effort made by him and his party was the last blaze in the dying embers of the

* Cicero repeatedly (e.g. 817, 1; 838 4) refers his correspondents for details of his actions on their behalf to the letters of their other friends. It was no doubt considered becoming to do so.

public, which were soon to be burnt out and dead; but for the
e, at least, the hearts of the patriots were warmed and ennobled
his glowing eloquence and his passionate conviction.

Not merely did Cicero lead affairs in the city; he attempted
to guide all the provincial governors. We have a large
tion of the extensive correspondence which he carried on with
vidus, Plancus, Decimus Brutus, Marcus Brutus, Cassius,
nificius, and others. The letters written by Cicero in the
rse of this correspondence are the high-water mark of Latin
se. Nothing could be more finished. But as regards contents,
think of what Cicero himself says, that the sole weapons which
had against the arms of Antony were—words. As M. Jullien
his charming monograph *Le fondateur de Lyon*, pp. 43-45)
justly said, these letters do not discuss what the interests of
State demand, but what is the duty of the individual;
stions of principle are substituted for questions of policy,
peals are not made to his interests, but to his conscience;
ywhere the phantom of virtue.' But if Cicero does preach,

hands the State will suffer shipwreck. You would not believe what I knew about their conduct in the Gallic campaigns. Unless some strong stand is made, they will certainly be attracted by that rebel Antony owing to their participation in his vices.'

Yet they appear to have acted, during their consulship, with loyalty to the State.* It was they who presided at the celebrated meeting on January 1st; and they first called on Fufius Calenus to deliver his opinion. Though Calenus was an adherent of Antony and an enemy of Cicero, he was not destitute of moderation. He proposed that, prior to taking any hostile steps against Antony, an embassy should be sent to him directing him to abstain from invading Cisalpine Gaul; and in this view he was supported by L. Piso. Cicero replied in the Fifth Philippic, which was not a moderate speech at all, but a violent invective, to all intents and purposes a call to arms.† War, he protested, must be declared. The whole history of Antony's acts, and the action of the Senate on December 20, imperatively demand that he be declared a public enemy. But the most striking portion of this excited speech is the laudation of young Octavian, and the solemn pledge which Cicero gives that he will be loyal to the State (§§ 50, 51).

'I intimately know the young man's every feeling. Nothing is dearer to him than the Free State, nothing has more weight with him than your influence, nothing is more desired by him than the good opinion of virtuous men, nothing more delightful to him than true glory. Wherefore, so far from your having any right to be afraid of him, you should rather expect from him greater and nobler services; nor should you feel any fear, in the case of one who has gone to free D. Brutus from being besieged, that any memory of private affliction shall remain and have greater weight with him than the safety of the State. I venture even to pledge my word, senators, to you, and to the Roman people, and to the State—and assuredly were the case different I should not venture to do so, as no force compels me, and in such an important matter I dread being thought dangerously rash—I promise, I undertake, I pledge my word that Gaius

* Cicero, in a letter of February 2, calls them *egregios consules* (818, 1; cp. 851), though he thought that neither of them showed any great ability (846, 4).

† Appian (iii. 56), in a speech put into the mouth of Piso, emphasizes the personal element which entered into Cicero's policy, *Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἡ γυῖρα*.

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Caesar will always be as loyal a citizen as he is to-day, and as our most fervent wishes and prayers desire.’*

Cicero had determined to make up his mind definitely as to Octavian's character when he saw how the young man acted in respect of Casca's tribunate (807, 3). That action appears to have fully satisfied Cicero; accordingly, now impelled by the consciousness of the unquestionable services which Octavian had rendered to the State in opposing Antony, by his own natural appreciation for young men of promise, and his generally enthusiastic temperament, and worked up by the eloquence of the great speech which he was bringing to a close, he threw off all the doubt and distrust which he had formerly entertained; and by his solemn declaration persuaded himself and a considerable portion of the Senate that the tyrant's heir would be the constitutional guardian and support of the Free State.†

With such views of Octavian and his loyalty Cicero had moved (807, 45-47) that he be granted pro-praetorian authority, and praetorial rank among the praetorii. Next day the Senate went further and decreed that he be made a senator; and at the same

honours his step-father Philippus added an equestrian statue.* The Senate further appointed Octavian in company with the consuls to carry on the war against Antony.†

The debate on the question of war against Antony was continued on the 2nd, and Cicero would have had a decided majority if the tribune Salvius had not adjourned the debate, in this matter alone acting against Cicero.‡ On the 3rd Cicero's proposals of rewards and honours to D. Brutus, Octavian, and the soldiers were adopted. But during the night of the 3rd and 4th, the earnest exertions of the family and friends of Antony prevailed so far that a compromise was adopted, and it was enacted that ambassadors be sent, not to negotiate, but to peremptorily order Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to leave Cisalpine Gaul, to remain 200 miles away from Rome, and to put himself at the disposal of the Senate: in case of disobedience, war was to be declared.§ Meanwhile the consuls were commissioned to prepare for this exigency. To Hirtius, not yet recovered from his illness, the duty was allotted of marching forth to the support of Octavian, while Pansa was entrusted with the task of looking after affairs in the city. Levies were set on foot throughout Italy, which Cicero says were responded to with alacrity.

Sulpicius, Piso, and Philippus were appointed ambassadors.

* 914, 7; App. iii. 61; Dio xlv. 29. This honour, says Velleius (ii. 61), had been granted only to three Roman citizens within the last 300 years, to Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

† Cp. Liv. Epist. 118, *C. Caesari propraetoris imperium a senatu datum est cum consularibus ornamentis, adiectumque ut senator esset*: Mon. Ancyr. i. 1-7, *Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi. Ob quae senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit C. Pansa A. Hirtio consulibus, consularem locum simul dans sententias ferendae et imperium mihi dedit. Res publica ne quid detrimenti caperet, me pro praetore simul cum consulibus providere iussit*, with Mommsen's notes; cp. also St. R. i. 442-3, notes.

‡ App. iii. 50; iv. 17.

§ According to App. iii. 61 Cicero was ordered to draw up the mandate, and his drafting was both aggressive (*φιλονεικως*) and false; he was driven on not so much from personal hostility as by fate. The Deity, it appears, was bringing about a change in the State through a period of confusion (*τοῦ δαίμονιόν τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐροχλοῦντος*), and devising ill to Cicero himself. Appian is very bitter against Cicero's policy at this period. In the next chapter he speaks of the extravagance (*τὸ ἀλλόκοτον*) of the mandate.

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the same meeting the agrarian law of L. Antonius was ended on the motion of L. Caesar. The feeling of the Senate still sufficiently hostile to Antony. Cicero was accordingly justified in stating to the people, in the Sixth Philippic (which he delivered at a meeting held by the tribune P. Appuleius on the afternoon of the 4th), that the decree of the Senate was no doubt to be regretted inasmuch as any delay was inexpedient, but that, Antony would most certainly not obey the mandate of the Senate, war was inevitable (§ 19).

‘The crisis has come; it is a struggle for freedom. You must conquer, Romans, or by some means escape from slavery. Other nations can submit to slavery, but freedom is the inalienable possession of the Roman people.’

The appointment of the embassy seems to have exhausted the courage of the constitutional party in the Senate. They again became inactive in their zeal, though the friends of Antony did not cease to exert themselves. Further, during the absence of the ambassadors in the month of January, while the levies were being raised with some success, there appeared evidence of what may be called an *Caesarian reaction* among a large number of senators. Of this

(he said) which was consistent with their former motions, and compatible with their safety, their freedom and their honour.

During the embassy Sulpicius died, and some weeks later Cicero delivered a panegyric on him in the Ninth Philippic. This is really not a Philippic at all, but a warm encomium on a personal friend, a man of great attainments and high character, who in extreme ill-health had put himself at the service of the State, and had virtually given his life for his country. The other two ambassadors returned, and

‘ Their conduct (writes Cicero to Cassius, 818, 1) has been as disgraceful and scandalous as could be. Despatched to bear definite orders to Antony according to a decree of the Senate, when he refused to obey any single requirement, they actually turn round and bring back to us demands which cannot possibly be tolerated. Accordingly there is a general flocking to me for aid ; and now in a matter which concerns the safety of the State I have become a Friend of the People (*populares sumus*).’

Antony’s ‘intolerable demands’ were—

- (1) Rewards for his veterans ;
- (2) Confirmation of his own enactments (*e.g.* *Lex iudiciaria*), of those based on Caesar’s *acta*, and especially of the *Lex Agraria* of his brother Lucius ;
- (3) An engagement that no account be taken of the money s which he had drawn from the State Treasury ;
- (4) The grant of *Gallia Comata* with six legions until the end of 715 (39), when Brutus and Cassius would, after their consulship in 713 (41), and subsequent provincial administration for two years, descend into a private station.

Antony refused to admit the ambassadors to an interview with Decimus Brutus, and, to add to his insults, sent one of his boon companions, a low creature called Cotta, to urge his demands. If the conditions which he offered were granted, he agreed to give up Cisalpine Gaul, and, perhaps, also Macedonia, to which he certainly appears to have had some claim.*

* Cp. Phil. xi. 27. According to Appian (iii. 63) Antony declared further that the hostility of the Senate shown in the mandate simply because he and Dolabella held fast to what had been regularly given to them by the people, absolved him from the promise of amnesty of which he never really approved ; and, he added, that he would, on this account, prosecute the war against Decimus, and thereby avenge the murder

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The Senate also considered that these demands were intolerable, on February 2nd a state of war was declared. It was decreed the *saga* be assumed on the 4th, and the Ultimate Decree issued.* Cicero subsequently acknowledged that these demands, though shameless, might have been granted,† but at the present he was absolutely uncompromising; he would not tolerate a certain mildness of language recommended by L. Caesar, urged that Antony should be called *adversarius*, and not *amicus*, and that the state of hostility should be called *tumultus*, not *bellum*. Indeed he strangely argued that the former was the more severe word.‡ On the first day of the debate this motion of L. Caesar was carried owing to a considerable degree of confusion in the proceedings; but the next day Cicero spoke against it in the Eighth Philippic. He urged that no measure of declared war was advisable or even possible; that war indeed had begun by an attack of Hirtius on Claterna, and a battle in the neighbourhood; that anyone except Cotyla, who repaired to Antony, should be considered as an enemy; and that pardon should be granted to all soldiers who left Antony before the

valid.* Side by side with these laws were some foolish attempts to continue the anti-Caesarian reaction, such as a promise to the people of Massilia that the privileges of which they had been deprived by Caesar should be restored to them;† and some talk of annulling the *Lex Hirtia* which had restricted the *Jus Honorum* of certain Pompeians. Cicero sums up the feelings of the principal actors in the situation in a letter to Trebonius (819, 3):—

‘We have a strong Senate; but of the consulars, some are timid, some disloyal. We have sustained a severe loss in Servius. Lucius Caesar is most loyal, but as being Antony’s uncle does not propose any vigorous motions. The consuls are excellent, D. Brutus noble, the boy Caesar excellent: I hope he will complete the good course he has begun.’

Cicero then says how essential he was in preventing Antony from proceeding to downright tyranny. A little later he wrote a cheerful letter to Paetus (820) urging him not to forego society, but adding

‘do not think that, because I write in a sportive strain, I have given up all regard for the State. Believe me, my dear Paetus, all my concern, all my care, night and day, is that my fellow-citizens may live in safety and freedom. I omit no opportunity for admonition, action, watchfulness; in short I feel my resolution so firm that I think, if I must lay down my life in this task and at this post, that my end will have been a glorious one.’

We must now say a few words about Marcus Brutus. After leaving Italy he had repaired to Athens and, in the intervals of attending philosophical lectures, had made preparations for war. Among many young men studying at Athens, who joined him, was young Cicero. The governor of Macedonia, Hortensius Hortalus, put himself at the service of Brutus, and Vatinius, governor of Illyricum, surrendered his forces to him. The

* See O. E. Schmidt, *Letzten Kämpfe*, p. 699; *Phil.* x. 17; xiii. 31; *cp.* v. 10.

† From *Att.* xiv. 14, 6 (719), we learn that after Caesar’s death Massilia had applied for a restitution of the privileges of which Caesar had deprived them; and that Atticus had supported their cause. But the grant does not appear to have been confirmed; for Caelius and the Antonians persisted in attacking Massilia in the Senate (*Phil.* viii. 18), and the constitutionalists could not do more than *promissæ* restitution (*Phil.* xiii. 32).

estor of Asia, M. Appuleius, and the quaestor of Syria, C. Sestius Vetus, who were returning to Rome with large supplies of money, put them into his hands: so that C. Antonius, who had been appointed, at the end of November, governor of Macedonia (his appointment cancelled on December 20), was quite overpowered by the forces which Brutus was able to bring against him, and was compelled to shut himself up in Apollonia.* When news of these actions of Brutus reached Rome, about the end of January or beginning of March, Calenus proposed that Brutus should be deprived of his command, as he had no right to govern Macedonia, and as it was certain that, if honours were bestowed on one of Caesar's murderers, the veterans would be gravely offended. In answer Cicero delivered his Tenth Philippic in support of his motion that Brutus should continue to protect Asia, Macedonia, and Greece, and should keep his army as near as possible to Italy; at the same time permission was given him to raise money and order supplies. Cicero answers the objections of Calenus by virtually admitting that Brutus had acted in violation of the strict letter of the law, but maintaining

if the minds of this House are to be directed by the nod of the veterans, and all our deeds and words are to be regulated by their will and pleasure, we should pray for death, which Roman citizens have always preferred to slavery.'

The whole speech is pitched in a very high key and is instinct with eloquent and noble, though unfortunately impracticable, aspirations. It is little wonder that the Senate, under the spell of Cicero's eloquence, assented to his proposal.

Presently there arrived the news of the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella. Dolabella had left Rome in October to take up the government of Syria, had spent about two months in the Grecian peninsula, and advanced with one legion into Asia early in 711 (43). Here he was excluded from Smyrna by Trebonius; but, after an ostensible reconciliation and departure, he returned suddenly, broke into the town and murdered Trebonius. On receipt of the news Dolabella was promptly declared a public enemy, and thus virtually deposed from his government of Syria. To whom was it to be given? In the Eleventh Philippic, Cicero urged that Cassius should be appointed to that province with a *maius imperium* in Asia and Bithynia, and should be commissioned to carry on the war against Dolabella.*

This proposal was rejected, though similar authority had been granted to Brutus. We think the reason for this diversity of treatment was that the Senate disapproved and feared the violent and untrustworthy character of Cassius. Some of the family of Cassius, too, objected to Cicero's motion.† Brutus seems also to have thought that the jealousy of the Caesarian party would be excited by publishing an account of the successes of Cassius.‡ The proposal finally adopted was that of Calenus supported by Pansa, that the consuls, after finishing the war in North Italy,

* This speech becomes a Philippic from the fact that Cicero, in expressing his burning indignation against Dolabella, urged his hearers to remember that such a fate as befel Trebonius was the fate which all true citizens might expect from Dolabella's friend and colleague, Antony. It must have been a bitter blow to Cicero that the man whom Tullia had loved had now become a rebel and a murderer. 'Indeed life is of little value to me now,' says Cicero in a subsequent speech (Phil. xii. 21), 'especially as Dolabella has made death a blessing for which I must pray.'

† 823.

‡ 840. 5.

draw lots for Asia and Syria. They naturally did not to forego the administration of such wealthy provinces. When the Senate broke up, Cicero delivered, at a meeting held by the tribune M. Servilius, a thundering speech, 'straining my voice to fill the whole extent of the forum, and amidst louder and more unanimous applause than I can remember.*' He declared emphatically that Cassius, if he was not formally granted the province of Syria, would take it on his own responsibility.

Cassius meanwhile, supported by Lentulus, proquaestor of Syria, with money, and by his brother L. Cassius with ships, had taken himself to Syria. There, 'that Caecilius Bassus fellow,'† who had been in rebellion since 709 (45), was besieged in Apamea by C. Statius Murcus, governor of Syria, with three legions, and C. Marcius Crispus, governor of Bithynia, with three more. The commanders handed over their forces to Cassius. Bassus was soon compelled by his own soldiers to surrender; and when, a few days afterwards, a legate of Dolabella, A. Allienus, who was marching through Syria with four legions from Egypt to join Cassius, with his general, went over to Cassius, the latter had no

of D. Brutus were seriously alarmed for his safety, and feared that, if Antony succeeded in taking Mutina, Decimus would share the fate of Trebonius. The supporters of Antony, Piso and Calenus, accordingly, thought this was a favourable time to move for another embassy to be sent to Antony. In this they were successful by the aid of Pansa; and without protest at the time from Cicero, five ambassadors, representing the different parties in the Senate, Servilius Isauricus, L. Caesar, Piso, Calenus, and Cicero himself were appointed. But a night's reflection convinced Cicero of the inexpediency and futility of such a proceeding; and in the Twelfth Philippic he frankly confessed his error and urged his objections to the proposed embassy. The enthusiasm of the people, he said, would evaporate; Antony would certainly not moderate his proposals; he would be intolerable if he returned to Rome; and lastly the enmity between himself and Antony had become too bitter to admit of his taking part in any such embassy. Again Cicero's eloquence and arguments influenced the Senate, and the proposal of Piso and Calenus dropped.

On the 19th of March the Senate paid Cicero a graceful compliment, which he thus describes in a letter to Cornificius (825)—

'On the Quinquatrus I pleaded your cause in a full Senate with the goddess of the feast propitious (*non invita Minerva*); for on that day the Senate decreed that my statue of Minerva, the guardian of the city, which had been thrown down by a storm, should be set up again.'

This whole letter is interesting, especially the words with which it concludes, and which give the keynote of all Cicero's exhortations to his friends at the time.

'There is one ship for all good men and true, and we are doing our best to keep her course straight. Heaven grant that her voyage may

as magistrate of the Roman State, the victims were so favourable (each of six victims having a double liver!) that the day was afterwards celebrated as a specially fortunate one in his life: cp. C. I. L. xii. 4333, 23 (the *Lex Aræ Narbonensis*) *vii quoque Idus Ianuar. qua die primum imperium orbis terrarum auspicatus est*: Plin. H. N. xi. 190 *Dico Augusto Spoletî sacrificanti primo potestatis suæ die sex victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra reperta sunt: responsumque duplicaturum intra annum imperium*. Octavian had at this time five legions at his disposal, two of veterans, the Martians, and the Fourth, two of *evocati* and recruits combined, and one of recruits (App. iii. 47).

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...e favourable! But whatever storms arise, our pilot's skill will certainly not be wanting; and what more can virtue promise? Do you raise and lift up your heart, and hold to the thought that all your glory is bound up in the fortunes of the State.'

Soon after the middle of March, letters arrived from Lepidus, Governor of Narbonensis and Hither Spain, advocating peace to Antony.* His sympathies were with Antony ever since the murder of Caesar; and he was under special obligations to Antony not only for the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, but also for the thanksgiving which Antony had decreed in his honour on September 28th. But Lepidus possessed a considerable army; and the well-known instability of his character—*homo ventosissimus*—that D. Brutus calls him (847, 1)—suggested hopes that he would be dissociated from Antony; though in all his speeches and letters he appears to have declared that he was acting in concert with him (824, 4). Actuated by such hopes, Cicero had moved, among the votes of honours to D. Brutus and Octavian, on January 3, a motion that a gilded equestrian statue should be

Very different was an official letter (833) received early in April from L. Munatius Plancus, governor of Transalpine Gaul. He had shortly before advocated peace, and been gravely rebuked by Cicero, who earnestly urged him to dissociate himself from his former Caesarian allies, and to embrace the side which defended the authority of the Senate and the liberty of the people, reminding him that then only has true peace been obtained when all fear of slavery has been removed (826, 2-3). Now Plancus writes stating that he was entirely at the disposal of the Senate, and that his apparent vacillation hitherto was due to a desire to abstain from an over-hasty declaration of his policy (a fault which had brought serious trouble on Decimus Brutus), and meanwhile to convince both his army and the surrounding states* that it was more advisable to hope for moderate rewards from the legitimate authorities than to trust the extravagant promises of Antony. He wished also to discover the sentiments of the other provincial governors, so that all might act with one accord in defence of liberty; and he desired to strengthen his own army sufficiently so that his open declaration of loyalty to the Senate should carry with it a weight and authority which it would not otherwise possess. 'From this you can see that during all this long time there has been no slumbering in my devotion to the maintenance of the vital interests of the State' (833, 5).†

This decided expression of devotion, after his long vacillation which caused even Antony to speak of him as a sharer in his designs,‡ led Cicero to propose very complimentary votes in his

* Plancus appears to have been singularly successful in gaining the hearty co-operation of the native Gauls to his rule, by a combination of military skill, justice, and general discretion (789, 1; cp. 833, 1; 897, 2; 907, 1). But still he felt that he must be very watchful in respect of them, lest they should take Rome's difficulty for their opportunity (*ne inter aliena vitia hae gentes nostra mala suam putent occasionem*, 808, 4).

† What was the real cause of this sudden alteration of the views of Plancus, who up to this had maintained a consistent reserve, and had expressed no decided opinion against Antony? It was, as M. Jullien (p. 51) acutely sees, the demand of Antony to be given Gallia Comata (cp. above, p. xxxiii) in exchange for Cisalpine Gaul (Phil. viii. 27). Plancus had been, as the saying is, 'sitting on the hedge'; but now that one of the parties interferes vitally with his interests, he takes a side; and in this able and audacious letter he does not apologise for his vacillation, but actually makes a merit of it, and declares that he was acting all along in the interests of the State.

‡ Phil. xiii. 44.

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our. Much opposition was caused to these votes, not merely religious scruples, urged by the praetor urbanus M. Cornutus, who adjourned the meeting on April 7th, but especially by the violent hostility of P. Servilius,—an uncompromising republican of the Catonian stamp, who did not approve of granting such extravagant honours to a man who merely did his duty—and of the tribune, P. Titius. On the 8th, notwithstanding a decided expression of dissent on the part of the Senate from the motion of Servilius, Titius vetoed Cicero's proposal. Next day Cicero delivered a violent invective—perhaps another lost Philippic*—against Servilius, who came prepared to 'outstare the lightning' (*ipsi iniquus*), and his henchman Titius, and carried his point. The main cause of the defeat of Servilius was the receipt, during the evening, of a letter from Lentulus, pro-quaestor of Asia, relating the successes of Cassius in Syria.†

Pansa left Rome for North Italy on March 20th; and during the latter part of March, and beginning of April, there was daily expectation that a decisive engagement would soon be fought. Cicero severely censures the long delay in bringing matters to a

defeated by Hirtius. A report of this battle was sent to Cicero by Galba (841), one of the officers in the army of Pansa. The battle with the forces of Pansa was divided into three parts, one on the raised Aemilian road, and one on each side of it.* Galba narrowly escaped with his life, and Pansa received grievous wounds. Octavian did good service in defending the camp against an attack of L. Antonius. All these commanders were saluted as imperatores by their soldiers.† A week later, on the 21st,‡ the generals fought a battle with Antony, under the walls of Mutina. We have no special details of the battle, but there is some evidence that D. Brutus made an effective sally.§ Antony was utterly defeated, and fled. On the side of the Republicans Pontius Aquila,|| a legate of Decimus, and Hirtius were killed. A few days later Pansa died at Bononia, from wounds received at

8375, l. 14), xviii. *K. Mai eo die Caesar primum vicit. Supplicatio Victoriae Augustae*; also Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 627, *hac Mutinensia Caesar Grandine militia contudit arma sua*: cp. Mommsen, in *Hermes* xvii. (1882), p. 636, who supposes that the attack on the camp lasted two days.

* One of the most interesting points in reference to this battle is the amazement which the recruits are said to have displayed at the stern silence and order with which the veterans fought (*App.* iii. 68). Mr. Strachan-Davidson (*Cicero* 412-3) has valuable remarks on the important effect which training had on the Italian temperament, and the slight account in which veterans held recruits.

† Cp. *Feriale Cumanum*, l. 15, xvii. *K. Mai eo die Caesar primum imperator appellatus est. Supplicatio Felicitati Imperii*; *Phil.* xiv. 18; *Dio Cass.* xlvi. 37-38.

‡ The usual date assigned to the Battle of Mutina is April 27th. Lange (*R. A.* iii. 533-4), in passing, declared that the date was wrong, but gave no reasons. The excellent and careful examination of the question by E. Schelle (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Todeskampfes der röm. Republik*, pp. 10-17) has proved the date to be the 21st. The events then all fit together, like a dissected map. Among his arguments are—(1) 854, written on May 5th, from Dertona, presupposes knowledge of the debate at Rome, which took place on the arrival of the news of the Battle of Mutina. Dertona is nearly 400 miles from Rome, a distance which a messenger would take eight days to compass; therefore the debate must have been held about the 26th. (2) 852, 1, relates that on the 27th a discussion was held at Rome in reference to the pursuit of the Antonians, who had been declared enemies the day before. This declaration was not made until the news of the Battle of Mutina arrived: cp. 846, 4. Schelle's whole paper is well worth reading. O. E. Schmidt, in *Jahrb.* (1892), p. 326 ff., adds some further confirmatory proofs, especially one in reference to the march of Ventidius: cp. p. 1. below.]

§ Cp. note to 857, 1; 886, 1.

|| He had driven Munatius Plancus Bursa (not to be confounded with the Governor of Transalpine Gaul) out of Pollentia (*Phil.* xi. 14; *Dio* xli. 38).

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Battle of Forum Gallorum. A suspicion, which, however, rested on no sufficient grounds, attributed his death to poison, administered by his physician Glyco, at the instance of Octavian.* He speaks coldly of the dead consuls—'We have lost the two consuls, good men, but no more. Hirtius fell in the moment of victory, after having won a great battle a few days before: for he had taken to flight after receiving a wound which he could bear up against.' It was naturally regarded as of evil omen that both the consuls should have perished.

While affairs were in the utmost uncertainty, on April 13th, letters from M. Brutus and his prisoner, C. Antonius, were delivered at Rome by Pilius Celer, the father-in-law of Atticus (842,

The letter from Antonius bore the inscription 'Antonius Consul.' So the rebel prisoner was allowed by the patriots to bear one of the highest titles of the State. Letters were also sent from 'Dolabella Imperator'; but the friends of Dolabella had not the impudence of Pilius, and did not deliver them. The letters of M. Brutus spoke very gently of the conduct of Antonius. The senate were naturally disconcerted. It looked

About the 17th, news arrived in Rome that Antony had gained a victory, and was marching on the city. Then followed three days of grave anxiety for Cicero and the constitutionalists (844, 2). Pansa was reported to have been slain, and the Antonians spread a rumour that Cicero intended to assume the consulship thereby vacant. When the rumour began to gain credence, and excitement was rising, on the 20th Cicero's good friend, the tribune Appuleius, called a meeting, and showed that such rumours were unfounded and absurd. A few hours later authentic news of the Battle of Forum Gallorum arrived, whereupon the people made a demonstration in Cicero's honour, which, as he says himself, 'amply rewarded (if true and real merit claims any reward) my days and nights of labour on their behalf.' He was carried to the Capitol 'almost in triumph'* by the enthusiastic crowd, and again to the Rostra, applauded and congratulated, and unanimously acknowledged by the people as their saviour. 'That,' says Cicero, 'is, in my opinion, a legitimate and real triumph when an unanimous state recognizes the merits of those who have done her signal service.'†

On the 21st a meeting of the senate was held, and P. Servilius proposed that the *sagum* be laid aside, and the *toga* be resumed; and that a public thanksgiving be held in honour of the victory. Cicero, though he must have been wrought into a great state of excitement by the apparent success of his policy, in the Fourteenth Philippic deprecated the adoption of the garb of peace until the siege of Mutina was raised; but he warmly supported the proposal of Servilius, that a public thanksgiving should be held in honour of the generals, and voted that it should extend to fifty days. 'Servilius,' he said, 'by moving for a thanksgiving, has implicitly proved Antony and his followers to be enemies; for a thanksgiving has never been voted in the case of a war between citizens.' He renewed his promises to the soldiers; proposed that a monument be erected in honour of the fallen; and, after the high Roman fashion, spoke weighty and solemn words on the shortness of life and the eternity of glory.‡ This speech, the last public utterance which we have of Cicero's, is in his highest strain, and is

* Phil. xiv. 12.
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† 844, 2; Phil. xiv. 12, 13.

‡ Phil. xiv. 22, 32.

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every respect worthy of the orator who delivered it, of the language he spoke, and of the Roman name.

News of the Battle of Mutina, which was fought on the 21st, reached Rome about the evening of the 25th, and on the following day Antony and his party were formally declared public enemies. At the same time, at the instance of Cicero, extravagant honours were voted to D. Brutus, though not without opposition (854, 1).

It was decreed that a thanksgiving of fifty days be held in his honour: that he should have a triumph, and—a most unusual grant in the case of a mortal man—that, as his birthday was the day on which the Battle of Mutina was fought, his name should be inserted in the Calendar ‘as an everlasting memorial of a most welcome victory.’ * To the consuls were voted statues and a public funeral, to the soldiers payment of the promised donative, and it was determined that Octavian should enter the city in triumph. †

For this ‘squandering’ ‡ of honours Cicero was severely criticised by Brutus, and especially censured for the distinctions which were given to Octavian. Brutus considered that Cicero’s conduct

hold the province of Syria, and to have a *maius imperium* in the other provinces east of Greece—all high honours bestowed on the murderers of Caesar—must have clearly shown Octavian the course in which the Senate was proceeding to direct its policy, and must have warned him of the ‘shelving,’ if nothing worse, which awaited him if he did not act in self-defence, with judgment, energy, and decision.*

An opportunity to exhibit that energy and decision was given by a paltry attempt of the Senate to communicate the resolution which had been passed to the soldiers of Octavian without his knowledge.† His soldiers, he knew, were thoroughly loyal to him, and brooked ill that he and they should be put in an inferior position to the soldiers of Decimus. He accordingly demanded a triumph for himself. Meanwhile he remained inactive, and took no measures to pursue Antony, or hinder Ventidius, the trusty lieutenant of Antony, from marching across country to join him; nay, he even treated stragglers of the enemy with the greatest consideration, enrolling some in his army, sending away those who wished to join their general’s forces, and in many ways making it plain that he was not by any means to be regarded as an implacable enemy of Antony’s.‡ Decimus Brutus, writing from Dertona, on May 5th, says (854, 4):—

‘If Caesar had heeded me, and crossed the Appennines, I should have reduced Antony to such straits, that he would have perished of

* There is a story, in Appian, iii. 75–6, that Pansa, on his death-bed, told Octavian that the Senate hoped that, when he and Antony quarrelled, they would be able to get the better of the survivor, and then, crushing the whole Caesarian party, would succeed in resuscitating that of Pompey. ‘This,’ he said, ‘was their main policy’ (τόδε γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνῶμης τὸ κεφάλαιον). Pansa says further, that he and Hirtius were Caesarians at heart, but concealed their real sentiments until some restraint was put upon Antony, who was so aggressive and insolent (ἐπιπολέσονται ὑπεροψίᾳ). We read in the same author (iii. 65) that, in the early part of the year, Hirtius divided his recruits with Octavian, and, under orders from the Senate, asked Octavian to give him some of his tried soldiers—a request which Octavian did not feel himself able to refuse.

† Cp. Vell. ii. 62, 5, *Caesaris adeo nulla habita mentio, ut legati, qui ad exercitum eius missi erant, iuberentur summoto eo milites alloqui. Non fuit tam ingratus exercitus, quam fuerat senatus; nam cum eam iniuriam dissimulando Caesar ferret, negavers milites sine imperatore suo ulla se audituros mandata.*

‡ App. iii. 80.

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unger, and not by the sword; but Caesar cannot be obedient himself, nor secure the obedience of his army, both most disastrous conditions of things.'

After having been released from Mutina, D. Brutus did not pursue Antony at once. This was plainly made a ground of reproach,* and Brutus feels it necessary to defend himself (859,

'I could not, my dear Cicero, pursue Antony at once, for the following reasons:—I had neither cavalry, nor pack-animals. I did not know that Virginius, I did not know that Aquila, had fallen. I could not feel confidence in Caesar until I met him, and talked with him. Thus the first day after my release passed. The next morning I was summoned to Bononia, to see Pansa. On the way information reached me that he was dead. I hastened back to the wreckage of my forces (*ad meas copias*)—for so I must call them: they are grievously thinned, and in miserable plight from want of all necessities.† Antony got two days start of me, and marched much further each day in his flight, than I did in pursuit; for he went in disorder, I in regular marching array. Wherever he went he opened slave-jails, and carried the country-folk along with him. He never halted until he reached Vada.'

the order of the senate ; but in that he was disappointed (875, 1 ; 886, 2). Nor did Octavian give him a single legion of Pansa's army (877, 4). Like so many of Appian's narratives, this story, though probably a complete fabrication, and certainly representing Octavian as expressing himself with very uncharacteristic impetuosity, doubtless represents the real feelings of the two men. We may fairly regard the conduct of Octavian at this time, in allowing Antony to escape, as indicating the turning-point in his attitude towards the senatorial party.

Antony determined not to continue the contest about Mutina. Appian (iii. 72) considers that he should have done so, and that the gods blinded him when they disposed him to retreat. But Appian gives good reasons why he did retreat. He feared that Octavian, if he remained where he was, would surround him. His cavalry being useless, he would suffer a defeat ; and in that case, Lepidus and Plancus would scorn him ;* while, by retiring, he would be able to unite with Ventidius, and afterwards with Lepidus and Plancus. Accordingly, he left Mutina on April 22nd, with what remained of his six legions, marched south into Etruria, gathered together every man he could, and struck across country westwards towards Vada Sabatia, a coast-town, about thirty miles west of Genoa. He wanted to be near Lepidus, whom he knew how to influence. This was one of the occasions on which Antony showed in the highest degree his promptitude in action and his other soldier-like qualities. Shakespeare, in some energetic verses, has represented Octavius Caesar, when Antony in his later days was sunk in luxury and weakness, as calling to mind the recollection of these, his days of privation and strength :—

‘ Antony,
Leave thy lascivious wassails. When thou once
Wast beaten from Modena, where thou slew'st
Hirtius and Pansa, consuls, at thy heel
Did famine follow ; whom thou fought'st against,
Though daintily brought up, with patience more
Than savages could suffer : thou didst drink
The stale of horses, and the gilded puddle

* Cp. 847, 2, *Plancum quoque confirmatis oro, quem spero, pulso Antonio, rei p. non defuturum* ; App. iii. 72, *ἐπερόψεται με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττήμενον*.

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Which beasts would cough at : thy palate then did deign
The roughest berry on the rudest hedge :
Yea, like the stag, when snow the pasture sheets,
The barks of trees thou browsed'st ; on the Alps
It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh,
Which some did die to look on : and all this—
It wounds thine honour that I speak it now—
Was borne so like a soldier, that thy cheek
So much as lank'd not.'*

he was ably seconded by his lieutenant, Ventidius. This
etent subordinate was probably at Faventia during the battles
Mutina, and now made a most brilliant and rapid march
the Appennines, with three legions, joining Antony at Vada
May 3rd or 4th.† Thus joined, they proceeded across the
Alps to the south of the province, where Lepidus lay
Forum Voconii, and encamped at Forum Julii, about twenty-
Roman miles distant. In the passage of the Alps not only was
ny not hindered by Culleo, the lieutenant of Lepidus, but
officer actually deserted to him.‡ When Antony arrived at

Forum Julii, Lepidus moved up closer to him, to the river Argenteus, and the soldiers of the two commanders began to hold intercourse with one another.* One of his officers, Silanus (son of the notorious Servilia, mother of M. Brutus), had fought on the side of Antony at Forum Gallorum and Mutina; but Lepidus, who was utterly averse from any kind of effort, did not think that it was incumbent on him to do anything more than refuse to give Silanus any command. Still Lepidus was apparently loyal to the State, and was earnestly supported in that course by his lieutenant Laterensis. Lepidus continued to appear to co-operate with Plancus, who would seem at this time to have been much more staunch in his allegiance, and, if we may judge from his letters, to have been very solicitous to retain Lepidus in his loyalty; but he was sore perplexed; he feared both disaffection in the army of Lepidus, and treachery in their general—the ulcerous place was but skinned and filmed, as he expresses it.†

The disappointment of Cicero at the escape of Antony is shown especially in his correspondence with Plancus. Cicero reminds him that a foe's final destruction is as sweet as his first repulse, and urges him to leave not a spark of this most horrible war alive. 'Whoever crushes Antony will be the finisher of the war. Homer, remember, does not style Ajax or Achilles but Ulysses as the "city-taker."' Vigorous action is what is required. Plancus should not refer any matters to the Senate where his proposals will meet with opposition. No, he must be self-reliant. 'Be your own Senate: follow where the interests of the State lead you, and see that we hear of the accomplishment of some signal success before we think of its possibility.'‡

Plancus had crossed to Rhone on the 26th of April (845; 855, 1), and received news of the Battle of Mutina a few days later, while still in the territory of the Allobroges. He wrote to Cicero, almost assuming that Lepidus would join with Antony. His view in brief is this (848, 2)—'If Antony has no forces to

* 869, 1; 872, 1. Antony appears to have sent messengers to Pollio and Plancus also, to solicit their assistance (855, 1).

† 870, 3, *sed non possum non exhorrescere, si quid intra eutem subest vulneris, quod prius nocere potest quam sciri curarique possit.*

‡ 881, 2; cp. 853, 1; 858, 2; 879, 2; 884, 3.

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of, I shall be easily able to hold my own against him and
Lepidus; but if he has any troops with him, especially if he
has the Tenth Legion, I think I shall be able to avert disaster
if troops are sent me from Rome. Meanwhile I am doing all I
can to keep Lepidus loyal.* When he heard that Antony, his
brother Lucius with a force of cavalry, and Ventidius had arrived
in the south of the province, he crossed the Isara on May 12th,
and had marched two days' journey south, when he received a
message from Lepidus that he was to come no nearer, as he
must finish the business by himself (861, 2 *se posse per se conficere*
bellum). Planus retired to the Isara; but on the 18th again
marched south (861, 2),

‘as I thought I could not detract aught from the glory of that paltry
(*ieiuni*) creature (i.e. Lepidus), and in order that I might be in the
neighbourhood, so as to be able to bring assistance with rapidity, if any
difficulty should arise.’

Lepidus still continued to pretend to be loyal, and wrote both
Planus, proposing concerted action,† and to Cicero, assuring

The really loyal Laterensis killed himself before the whole army.* Plancus retreated hastily to Cularo (Grenoble), on the Isara, where we find him on June 4th (895, 3). There about a week later, apparently on the 12th, he was joined by Decimus Brutus.

After his meeting with Octavian, on the 22nd, Decimus proceeded, on the 23rd, towards Bononia, hoping to see Pansa. Hearing on the journey that Pansa was dead, Brutus returned to Mutina, and started next day, along the Aemilian road, to Regium Lepidi. He reached that town on the 25th, but found his army so ill and weakened, after their long privations in Mutina,† and so badly off for supplies and transport, that he had to delay there some days, probably till about the 29th. He wrote to Cicero (847), urging that the home government should send messages to that 'weather-cock' (*hominem ventosissimum*) Lepidus, to Asinius Pollio, and to Plancus, urging them to continue loyal to the State, and not to have any dealings with Antony. On the 30th he was at Parma (849), and on May 5th at Dertona (854). On the 6th he wrote from the borders of Aquae Statiellae, and on the 10th from Pollentia (859). He had succeeded in getting possession of that town just before a detachment of Antony's troops, under Trebellius, arrived before it. On this success he appears to have laid considerable weight: it would seem that he did not expect that Antony would cross the Alps. But when he saw that such was Antony's intention, he felt sure that Lepidus was in communication with him. Accordingly he struck up north to join Plancus. On the 21st he wrote from Vercellae (875), and on the 24th and 25th from Eporedia (877, 878). He appears to have had some slight hopes of the loyalty of Lepidus, and stated that he would not leave Italy unless it was absolutely imperative for him to do so. From Eporedia he advanced to Vitricium, from which place he appears to have written 892, after having heard of

per colloquia repulsus a M. Lepido, qui pontifex maximus in C. Caesaris locum furto creatus decreta sibi Hispania adhuc in Gallia morabatur, mox saepius in conspectum veniens militum (cum et Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores et multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius) per aversa castrorum proruto vallo a militibus receptus est.

* Dio Cass. xlv. 51, 3.

† Cp. p. xlviii above.

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tion of Antony and Lepidus; and crossing the Graian Alps, Plancus at Cularo about the 12th.*

Meanwhile, the Senate were somewhat perplexed as to the manner in which they should treat Octavian, and also as to the proper method of fulfilling their promises to the soldiers. Cicero pressed the bestowal of some additional honour on the young man (886, 1), of which we are not further informed.† As early as April, Cicero, while acknowledging the marvellous manliness of Octavian, had begun to feel doubts as to his power to control him (844, 1); and he appears to have angered Octavian seriously by a terse and alliterative expression or 'jingle' (*canti-que*) as to the policy which should be adopted with regard to him: 'lauding, applauding, discarding.'‡ Octavian said he did not see that he wasn't 'discarded.' As regards the soldiers the Senate appointed a Commission of Ten (which included Cicero) to distribute lands to them, but emphasised its lack of appreciation for the feelings of the soldiers by putting neither Octavian nor Plancus on the Commission; so that we are not surprised to learn that the soldiers were 'mightily indignant.'§

To face the united forces of Lepidus and Antony, the Senate had no armies immediately available except those of Plancus and D. Brutus.* They ordered Titus Sextius, governor of Numidia, to send two legions, and to put the remaining legion which he had under the command of Cornificius, governor of Africa. They recalled Asinius Pollio from Further Spain. Pollio professed himself loyal to the Senate; 'I do not wish,' he says, 'to fail in aiding or to survive the Republic' (890, 5). But his forces were small, only three legions, and were being influenced by extravagant promises on the part of Antony; and it was exceedingly difficult for him to make his way into Italy by land if Lepidus and Antony opposed him (890, 2; 896, 4). But not only did the Senate want forces; it was also in the most grievous straits for money. Benevolences were no longer forthcoming: there was an ill-response to a property-tax of one per cent.—the first which had been raised since the Battle of Pydna—and the most shameless statements of property were made by the wealthy.† The amount raised was comparatively trifling. Cicero says that it was scarcely sufficient to pay the bounties of two legions. What money was available had been voted to D. Brutus on June 6th.‡ The Treasury was bankrupt; and there were greedy legionaries everywhere clamouring for rewards; even Plancus had repeatedly urged that *his* soldiers, too, should receive something, so that they might not be influenced by the extravagant promises of Antony. There was no way to get money but by spoliation. The Triumvirs afterwards saw this; and their need of money was the main cause of the proscriptions.

commission appointed to inquire into the public acts of Antony, which Appian (iii. 82, 85, 86) says was a preliminary step towards the reversal of Caesar's decrees. But perhaps Appian has confused this commission with the other, which he does not mention; and Caesar's decrees seem to have been dealt with as the Senate wished by the laws of Pansa, passed in February: cp. p. xxxiv above.

* Plancus appears to have had three veteran legions, and one of recruits, which he declares was the finest of them all (*vel luculentissima ex omnibus*). In 833, 6, he speaks of five legions; but in 860, 3, only of four. D. Brutus had one veteran legion, one of soldiers who had served for two years, and eight of recruits: cp. 916, 3.

† Cp. 915, 5, written on July 27th.

‡ Decimus had spent all his own large fortune, and had induced many of his friends to lend him considerable sums. 'I cannot,' he says (854, 5), 'if I had all Varro's treasures, meet the expenses which I have to incur.'

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Towards the end of May, Cicero wrote sadly to Decimus (1, 3):—

‘My efforts, dear Brutus, are paralysed (*plane iam, Brute, frigeo*): for the Senate was my instrument, and it is now shattered. So great a hope of assured victory did your glorious sally from Mutina, and the flight of Antony with broken forces arouse, that the spirits of all at once became lupine, and all those passionate efforts of mine seemed as of one that beateth the air (*tanquam σκιαμαχῶν*) . . . You have written to me that you are in receipt of letters from Plancus stating that Antony has not been received by Lepidus. If this is so, our whole course is easier; but if not, it is a serious matter. The end of it has no terrors for me: it is you who will have to play the part. I can do no more than I have done. However, as it is my hope, so it is my desire, that I may see you, of all men, in the greatest and most illustrious position.’

The news of the juncture of Antony and Lepidus must have reached Rome about June 8th, and caused sore perplexity. The policy led by Cicero were still for energetic measures and for making Lepidus an enemy at once. But besides the Antonian policy in the Senate, Lepidus had an important friend in his

return, but these decrees had been vetoed.* Finally, on June 30, the Senate summoned up courage to pass a decree declaring Lepidus a public enemy, and confiscating his property. This was of course very proper: but they ought to have taken more decided steps to enforce this decree and to inflict punishment on the enemies of the State. Yet they could do nothing but pass decrees.† It would seem that they trusted to Decimus and Plancus on the one hand, and to Octavian on the other, and fancied that they would attack Lepidus and Antony from both sides, while Pollio might lend assistance by an assault from the rear. But all these hopes were bitterly disappointed.

During the whole of July, Plancus and Decimus did not stir. The fact was, they could not trust their soldiers. No reward had been given by the Senate to their legions, and the most extravagant promises had been made them by Antony.‡ The forces, too, of Plancus and Decimus consisted so largely of recruits that they feared to risk a battle; and further, notwithstanding urgent appeals from Plancus, Octavian did not proceed to his assistance. The blame for the whole position, according to Plancus, rested with Octavian. While professing much regard for the young man, he adds (916, 6):—

‘but—and what I write, I write rather in sorrow than in anger—that Antony is alive to-day, that Lepidus has joined him, that they have an army far from contemptible, that they are full of hopes and daring—all this is due to Caesar.’

Antony and Lepidus also did not stir. They knew that it was only a matter of time to draw over to themselves the armies of Plancus and Decimus. Marcus Brutus most unaccountably did not make any reply to the urgent appeals from the Senate to return to Italy.§ Cicero also wrote to Cassius urging him to

* Cp. 897, 1, *senatus auctoritate*. Appian (iii. 85) says the Ciceronian party sent secretly (κρύφα) to M. Brutus, urging his return.

† Dio Cass. xlv. 50, 5, ἀσθενέστατα γὰρ ἤδη τὰ ψηφίσματα πρὸς τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντας ἤγετο.

‡ See above, p. lv.

§ 897, 1; 909, 2. Though Brutus made no motion to help Cicero and his party in the city who were in sore need, he wrote very urgently to him, appealing to their mutual friendship and his own constant kindness to Cicero, that no severe measures be taken

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n.* In July Cicero appears to have expected the arrival of
as almost immediately.† But none of all these commanders
any move. The young man who was to be 'discarded,' but
declared that he would take care he should not be so treated,
he first to make a decided step. He sent an embassy of
of his soldiers and centurions to Rome to demand for themselves
promised rewards and the consulship for their general. ‡
This was not the first the Senate had heard of a demand by a
of eighteen years for an office which it was not customary to
before the ripe age of forty-three. The State had remained
some months without consuls, not merely owing to the techni-
difficulties as to the proper means of electing them—now that
is no longer possible to have recourse to a dictator, nor feasible
to appoint an interrex§—but also to the keen canvass (854, 2).
high position of Cicero, and his well-known desire for office,
set him out as a likely aspirant; and M. Brutus, as early as
heard a rumour that he was actually elected. In the same
Brutus had expressed fears that Octavian, if made consul,
would never afterwards submit to play a subordinate part (866, 4).

Whatever the truth of this may be, it is certain that Octavian had set himself to obtain the consulship before the year was out, so that he might have, as counterbalance to his youth, in addition to his strong military forces, a strong constitutional position which would enable him to act on equal terms either as friend or foe with the other commanders who were his seniors and at the head of considerable armies. Moreover he had many supporters among the people at Rome, though none in the Senate (897, 3). Cicero earnestly dissuaded him from his aspirations and disclosed in the Senate 'the source of these most criminal designs.*' In this letter Cicero says that he never saw the Senate better; not a single senator, or magistrate, or private member was found to urge Octavian's claim. But still the State was agitated;

'for we are flouted, my dear Brutus, as well by the supercilious demands (*delictis*) of the soldiers as by the extravagance of the general. Each one claims to have influence in the State proportional to the forces under his command. No weight is attached to reason, moderation, statute law, custom, duty; none to the expressed judgment, the deliberate opinion of the citizens; none to respect for after ages.†

Even in July, Cicero was not hopeless that he would be able to influence Octavian, though he acknowledges that he must bring up all his engines to his aid in this matter (915, 4). It would appear that the Senate compromised the matter by allowing him to stand for the praetorship.‡ Probably it was on receipt of this offer that Octavian, after delivering a fine indignant speech, sent the embassy of centurions and soldiers.§

But the Senate refused this embassy their demand of the consulship for Octavian, and said nothing decisive about the money.|| The embassy made a third demand that the vote

* 897, 3, *sceleratissimorum consiliorum fontes*, cp. note.

† Plancus speaks of the pressing demands of Octavian for the consulship as 'fatuous' (*insulsa cum efflagitatione*, 916, 6).

‡ Dio xlv. 41, 3.

§ App. iii. 86-87; Suet. Aug. 26.

|| The centurions urged as precedents for the grant of consulship before the legal age the cases of Scipio, Pompey, and Dolabella (App. iii. 88). A story is told that one of the centurions, on leaving the Senate, grasped his sword and said, 'If you will not give Caesar the consulship, *this* will.' To which Cicero replied sarcastically, 'If you press your demand in this way, he will obtain it' (*ἂν οὕτως παρακαλήτε, λήψεται αὐτόν*). And this, says Dio, caused Cicero's death (xlv. 43, 4).

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ring Antony an enemy should be repealed. This should opened the eyes of the Senate to the fact that Octavian and Antony were already in concert, and shown them that subversion alone was possible. On the return of the soldiers, early in August, Octavian promptly crossed the Rubicon and with eight legions, and their cavalry and auxiliaries, marched down on Rome.*

The last full letter written by Cicero which is extant is addressed to M. Brutus, and bears date July 27. It was written before the crisis. The history of the events which occurred in August must be gathered from Appian who follows the authorities bitterly hostile to Cicero and his policy. According to him, messengers from the Senate met Octavian with money to buy the donatives, but were frightened away by his orders, as he feared that they might cause disaffection in his army. On their arrival in the city, a panic ensued, and 'as happens in times of alarm one blamed his fellow,' and the various slights which they had put on Octavian stood out in all their glaring folly. Cicero, who was up to that time prominent (*ὅς τε ὥς αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν*), did not even appear. In their alarm the Senate granted in

discovery that Caesar's mother and sister, important hostages, were not to be found, served to create a new alarm. Octavian occupied the portions of the city beyond the Quirinal without any trouble, the populace flocked to him, the three legions deserted to him. The praetor urbanus, Cornutus, a staunch republican, killed himself; the rest made their peace with the victor. Through Octavian's friends Cicero procured an interview and laid strong claim to indulgence because he had proposed in the Senate that Octavian should be made consul. Octavian replied with a scoff, that he was the last of his friends to come and see him.*

That same night a rumour spread that the Fourth and the Martian legions had renounced allegiance to Octavian on the ground that they had been misinformed of their commander's intention and led against the Senate under a misapprehension. The Praetors and the Senate 'without the slightest difficulty' (*πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως*) believed the report. A hasty concourse of the Senate gathered in the Senate-house, Cicero welcoming them at the door. The report was soon discovered to be false, and Cicero disappeared in a litter.

Put this way, Cicero's conduct in the crisis appears contemptible. But even granting the truth of Appian's statements (a very large admission), we must remember that it is the duty of a leader to incur no needless danger and to be at his post when he can be of any service. Because he spoke fair to a marauder when in grievous danger, he was hardly bound to remain neutral when there appeared a hope of making an effective resistance to that marauder. Much allowance, too, must be made for the terrific excitement of the crisis in which was consummated the dissolution of the Roman Republic. Still Cicero must have known that his failure was complete. Pollio had gone over to Antony, and by Pollio's aid a reconciliation was effected between Antony and Plancus. Cicero's earnest efforts to keep these self-seekers loyal had all miscarried, and his passionate zeal for the Republic had not averted ruin and disaster; he had no more hopes left to be disappointed, and he departed for ever from the city which he had failed

* App. iii. 92, ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

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ve. We hardly hear of him between the final entry of Octavian in the middle of August and the closing scene. Just one fragment of a letter remains addressed by the old and defeated statesman to his young and victorious soldier shortly after his election to the consulship. 'I feel a twofold joy at your grant of leave of absence to me and Philippus: it betokens pardon for the past, and insurance for the future.*' Taking the position of affairs into account, there is nothing more affecting in the whole correspondence. Cicero retired to Tusculum. He was hardly yet prepared to meet the bitterness of death; and death or submission, or the best grace possible were the sole alternatives.

We need not dwell on the election of Octavian to the consulship on August 19, and the fatal meeting of the triumvirs near Bononia in November, when the proscriptions were arranged. There is something horrible about these murders; they were so blooded and business-like. They were committed partly to the triumph of the triumvirs of troublesome enemies, but mainly to get money. Cato was among the first sacrificed to the hatred of Antony, and at the same time his brother Quintus and young Quintus perished

wards Quintus was betrayed by his servants to those who were in quest of them, and was killed along with his son.*

‘Cicero, when he arrived at Astura, and found a boat, at once embarked, and, with a favourable wind, sailed along the coast as far as Circeii. But when the sailors wished to put out to sea straightway from that place, whether it was that he feared the sea,† or did not yet wholly give up all trust in Caesar, he disembarked, and proceeded by land about a hundred stadia towards Rome. But again becoming distracted (ἀλύνων), and changing his mind, he returned to the sea-coast at Astura. There he passed the night in terrible and desperate reflections: he thought even of going into Caesar’s house secretly, and slaying himself on the hearth, so as to bring a curse (ἀδυστορα) on it. But fear of torture diverted him from this course. Forming other wild and distracted (παλιντροπῶν) plans, he allowed his servants to carry him by sea to Caieta, where he had a villa, and a pleasant retreat during the heat of summer, when the Etesian winds blow deliciously. The village had a temple of Apollo a little above the sea. From thence came a flock of crows, which settled, screaming, on Cicero’s boat, as it was coming to land. Sitting on each side of the yard-arm, some kept cawing, others plucked at the ends of the ropes; and all on board considered it an omen of ill. However, Cicero landed, and going to his villa, lay down to take some rest. Then the greater part of the crows sat on the window, screaming noisily, and one perched on the bed where Cicero lay covered up, and tried little by little, with its beak, to draw the coverlet from his face. When Cicero’s servants saw this, they reproached themselves for waiting to see their master slain; the lower animals, they said, were helping and caring for him in his undeserved troubles, yet they themselves were doing nothing for his protection.‡ Then partly by entreaties, and partly by force, they succeeded in taking him and conveying him in a litter towards the sea.

‘But now the murderers were at hand—a centurion named Herennius, and a tribune Popillius (whom Cicero had defended when charged with parricide), with attendant soldiers. Finding the door locked, they broke it open. When they did not find Cicero there, and those who were in the house said they did not know where he was, it is stated that a young man to whom Cicero had given a liberal education in literature and science, a freedman of his brother Quintus, called Philologus,§ told the tribune that

* Father and son each begged to be killed before the other. The murderers killed them both at the same moment (App. iv. 20).

† οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀγέλιαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, App. iv. 19.

‡ The devotion of his slaves to the gentle and humane Marcus may be contrasted with the hatred which those of Quintus felt for their irascible master, a hatred so great that they betrayed him to the assassins.

§ Appian (iv. 19), who reproduces several of the details of Cicero’s death, says that the person who pointed out the road to the murderers was a shoemaker, a client of

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the litter was being carried by rough woodland paths to the sea. The tribune then took a few men with him, and hastened to the end of the wood. When Herennius came running along the path, Cicero saw him, and ordered his servants to lay the litter down on the ground. Then, as was his wont, grasping his chin with his left hand, he looked anxiously on the assassins. When they saw him, all dishevelled and unkempt, his face haggard from anxiety, most of them covered their faces while Herennius slew him. He stretched his neck out of the litter, and was thus slain, in his 64th year. Herennius cut off his head, and, at the order of Antony, the hands which wrote the *Philippics*. When these were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an election of magistrates, and when he heard and saw what was done, he cried aloud that the main object of the proscriptions had been attained.* He ordered Cicero's head and hands to be fixed above the rostra—a sight at which the Romans shuddered, for they seemed to see there, not the face of Cicero, but the image of Antony's soul.'

He bore none of his misfortunes as a man should except his. So judged the fair-minded Livy.† Lack of steadfastness in the face of danger, lack of patience in the day of misfortune—these were the capital defects in Cicero's character. Everyone has his faults, says Seneca: Cato lacked moderation, Cicero firm-

without at the same time the timidity and instability which must accompany such highly-strung nerves, and such a delicately constituted organism. Yet it was only physical danger before which Cicero quailed. He had no lack of moral courage when he saw his way clearly. But his quick intellect, his capacity of seeing every side of a question, which, with his great powers of language, made him such an eminent advocate, made him at the same time a most severe critic of the conduct of others, and rendered his adoption of any course of action a perplexing and painful process. In the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, his judgment and his heart were divided one against the other: how then could the whole man act any strong part? But once Cicero saw his way clearly, he exhibited as much strength as can be demanded of human nature.* And he always tried to direct his conduct by principles, and principles which tended to the greater glory of his country. Vulgar selfishness was never one of his faults, however much he may have been enthralled by fame, that last infirmity of noble mind. He had a real love of excellence no matter who exhibited it; and he was rich in that most beautiful gift that is given to man, perfect freedom from jealousy.† Cicero was perpetually boastful and vain, but it was a harmless vanity‡: he was occasionally ungrateful, for example to Caesar—

* Quintil. xii. 1, 17, *Parum fortis videtur quibusdam quibus optime respondit ipse non se timidum in suscipiendis sed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipse quam praestantissimo suscepit animo.*

† Plut. Cic. 24, *καίπερ οὕτως ἀκράτῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνὼν ἀπῆλλακτο τοῦ φθονεῖν ἐτέροις ἀφθονώτατος ὢν ἐν τῷ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἐγκωμιάζειν.*

‡ Cp. Mr. Strachan-Davidson, 'Cicero,' pp. 192 ff. 'Cicero's vanity is essentially of the innocuous and peacock-like kind.' Dio Cassius (xxxviii. 12) draws a very exaggerated picture of Cicero's faults. He notices that Cicero made many enemies by the pungency of his witticisms (cp. Phil. ii. 39; Macrob. Sat. ii. 3, 7); and, as it is in accordance with human nature to feel indignation at injuries more strongly than gratitude for favours, Cicero was more feared than loved. 'He also made most bitter enemies by always trying to eclipse the chief men in the State, and by adopting towards all alike a freedom of speech which was unmeasured and wearisome (τῇ παρησιᾷ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ χρώμενος); and he strove to gain the reputation of being able to understand and say what no one else could, thus aiming at the semblance rather than the reality of excellence. On this account, and because he used to boast himself above all men, and consider no one his equal, but, both in his speeches alike and in his conduct, used to despise everyone and consider no one good enough for him (καὶ ἰσοδύνατος οὐδενὶ ἡξίου εἶναι), he became offensive and disagreeable

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was in his eyes a tyrant and traitor to the constitution :
mean, in his conduct towards Publilia. On the other
strong affection for his family and friends shows the
warmth of his heart ; and with those of them who were
violent, he was temperate and forbearing, though often
1. But we need not proceed to estimate his merits.
‘He was a great and noteworthy man,’ said Livy, ‘and it
is a Cicero to praise him.’* We have not a Cicero to
it we may not unfitly conclude a long study of Cicero’s
noting from a historian, who combines rich eloquence with
ing and insight, a mature and well-considered judgment
character and on the real significance of his life and his
vale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, iii. 212,

while Cicero stands justly charged with many grave infirmities
er and defects of principle ; while we remark with a sigh the
he inconstancy, and the ingratitude he so often manifested ; while
nt his ignoble subserviencies and his ferocious resentments, the
tandard by which we claim to judge him is in

After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass on his conduct, we must acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character, and noble in his teaching, beyond all ancient example. Cicero lived and died in faith. He has made converts to the belief in virtue, and had disciples in the wisdom of love. There have been dark periods in the history of man, when the feeble ray of religious instruction paled before the torch of his generous philanthropy. The praise which the great critic pronounced upon his excellence in oratory may be justly extended to the qualities of his heart, and even in our enlightened days it may be held no mean advance in virtue to venerate the master of Roman philosophy.*

* Quintil. x. 1, 112 *ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit*. Cp. St. Augustin, Confessions iii. 4, 7 (*Ciceronis*) *cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita*—the celebrated passage in which he attributes the first step in his conversion to reading the *Hortensius* of Cicero.

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II.—CICERO'S CORRESPONDENTS.

1. L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.*

THING is said to come to the man who can wait: and in this maxim does not generally come true, it came true in the case of Plancus. He was a good waiter. But he had other qualities, too, useful for the man who wants to get on. He was a consummate 'artist in flattery,' to use Seneca's description of him.† Secondary person himself, he was able to flatter the great men who guided the destinies of the world. As long as fortune stood for them, he was their faithful servant: but when she shook her head, he followed her and became the earnest servant of his new enemies. Destitute of principle, absorbed in one idea of success, he changed from one party to another with

711 (43), a colony to Buthrotum.* Lucius was one of Caesar's legati in Gaul in 700 (54), and in 705 (49) was with C. Fabius in command of Caesar's forces at Ilerda.† In the African war, 708 (46), he wrote to Considius, the commander of Hadrumetum, urging him to play the traitor.‡ During the winter of that year, when Caesar went to Spain, Plancus was one of the eight prefects of the city, appointed to administer the State, at the head of which was that ponderous nonentity, Lepidus. Plancus appears to have had the administration of the finances; and, in the course of his work in this department, was very nearly compelled to sell up Antony, who was reluctant to pay for Pompey's house, which he had bought in the sale of confiscated goods.§ The first letter, which is extant, from Cicero to Plancus was written about this time. It has reference to the property of a deceased Pompeian, one Antistius, which he left to Ateius Capito, but which was adjudged the property of the State because Antistius was a Pompeian. Cicero asks Plancus to use his influence with Caesar to secure the estate for Capito. We do not know the result.|| As finance official, Plancus was also director of the mint and coined many gold pieces of which we have not a few remaining.¶ Caesar next made Plancus Septemvir Epulo, and promised him the consulship for 712 (42); meanwhile he was to administer Gallia Comata (*i.e.*, all Gaul except Narbonensis).

of the perfumes. They tortured his slaves to find out from them the exact spot where their master was hidden, but no tortures could wring from them an answer. He, however, witnessed from concealment their sufferings and constancy, and voluntarily gave himself up to the executioners (Val. Max. vi. 8, 5).

* Att. xvi. 16 A, B (767, 777).

† Caes. B. G. v. 24; B.C. i. 40.

‡ Bell. Afr. 4: Plancus asked Caesar to allow him to endeavour to bring Considius to his senses (*perduci ad sanitatem*).

§ Cic. Phil. ii. 78.

|| Fam. xiii. 29 (457). M. Jullien thinks it probable that Cicero gained his request — (1) because Caesar was inclined to conciliate Cicero, (2) because the correspondence of Cicero with Plancus, when it reappears, reads as if the intimacy of the two had ripened.

¶ They bear an image of Victory with the inscription C. CAESAR DIC. TER and on the reverse L. PLANC. PR. (or PRAEF.) VRB. M. Babelon (*Monnaies de la république*, ii. 239) thinks that the figure of Victory is a portrait of Calpurnia, wife of Caesar. If so, she was the first Roman lady who had her image on coins.

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Plancus was still in Rome on the Ides of March. He took part in the debate on the 17th in favour of amnesty, but soon left his province. Here he assumed the title of proconsul, and, by judicious and conciliatory administration, won the hearts of the provincials. We constantly hear of their loyalty and devotion to him, and he soon got together a large body of cavalry and five legions. During the summer he founded a colony at Raurica, near Augst, near Basle, and made war on the Celtic Raeti. These he conquered, and assumed the title of imperator; later, at the end of 43 (44), he celebrated a triumph in honour of the victory. The correspondence of Cicero and Plancus, which is found in the 10th Book *ad Familiares*, opens about the middle of September (44), when Cicero was smarting under the treatment which he had received from Antony. He begins the series of letters addressed to the provincial governors, exhorting them to loyalty, and a letter to Plancus of whom he entertained a high opinion. Plancus frequently replied, and we have twelve of the letters of Plancus still extant. The cultivated style of these letters has long excited the admiration of all scholars. Scaliger

forces, and three months later Octavian had taken possession of Rome and crushed the republican party, a deserter from that cause and an active member of the dominant party. With the natural feelings of a renegade, he vigorously opposed the side he deserted.

But before September 711 (43), a decree of the Senate had been passed, probably in June, that certain Roman soldiers, who had been located at Vienne by Caesar, probably in 709 (45), but who had been driven out by the native population of the tribe of the Allobroges early in 710 (44), should be established in a new colony by Lepidus and Plancus.* Caesar had planted in colonies in the Narbonese considerable masses of soldiers who had served together and were thus used to act in concert—generally men of the same legion,† and Vienne was one of these foundations. The Senate did not dispossess the Allobroges who had driven out the Roman soldiers, because, the factions of the city having penetrated into the provincial towns,‡ the veterans (as always) were Caesarians, and accordingly the Allobroges professed, and indeed exhibited (855, 1: 900, 4), loyalty to the Government. The Senate, however, in order to maintain the dignity of the Republic, and also to conciliate the veterans, ordered that new lands should be assigned them. Plancus executed the commission, and the flourishing colony of Lugdunum was the result.§

* Why was Lepidus chosen to co-operate with Plancus when he had joined forces with Antony previously on May 29? The fact was the Senate, during June, were at their wits' end to know how to treat Lepidus. They did not support Cicero cordially, as his policy, especially with regard to Octavian, looked like a failure. Lepidus had a considerable party supporting him in the Senate, and it was known that Marcus Brutus would not favour any strong measures which might be taken against him. The chief aim of the Senate was to gain time to keep Lepidus from immediately marching into Italy. Accordingly they gave him orders to join with Plancus in founding the colony. Vienne was in Narbonese, and the new colony was to be founded in the territory of Plancus. But Lepidus did not participate in the honours of the foundation; the colony always regarded Plancus alone as the founder. Possibly the first formal acts of the foundation took place between June 30, when Lepidus was outlawed, and August or September when the sentence of outlawry was annulled. Or we may suppose that Lepidus did not take any part in the ceremony, though he had the right to do so, and accordingly could not be regarded as the founder. But it is better to consider that the formal ceremony took place early in August. No mention is made of it in the last letter from Plancus, dated July 28 (916).

† Thus the veterans of the X. legion were settled at Narbonne; those of the VIII. at Forum Julii, &c.

‡ Cp. the factions at Pompeii, Cic. Sull. 60, 61.

§ See Jullien, chap. 4.

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While the horrors of the proscriptions were everywhere, and his father was either dead or flying for his life, Plancus, on December 10, celebrated a triumph *ex Gallia*,* in commemoration of which he placed in the Capitol a picture by a great artist Nicomachus, representing victory raising his chariot aloft.† Three days later Plancus entered on the consulship for the year 712 (42). Horace then a hot-blooded young spark of 22, not ready to submit to insult (Hor. Od. iii., 14, 27, *Non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa de Planco*). During his consulship Plancus carried a praise-worthy law which mitigated the proscriptions and allowed many of those who were condemned, but had escaped, to return. He showed much judgment and adroitness in quelling a military mutiny by summarily executing some slaves who had joined with the rebels in plundering‡; and probably to this time is to be assigned the division of lands at Beneventum. In the Perusian war he stood by Fulvia, and performed the only meritorious military achievement of that party; he cut to pieces a legion of Octavian. When the catastrophe came, he escaped with Fulvia to the East. He was received with much favour by Antony, and returned with him to Italy.

made by Cleopatra that she would drink 10,000 sesterces at a draught; and the triumphator is said to have publicly danced a pantomime called Glaucus.* But he also did more serious work. His excellent literary style was used in the composition, or, at all events, the correction, of Antony's speeches and edicts. We know what a very poor stylist Antony was. Generous and unsuspicious, Antony reposed the utmost confidence in Plancus, and even entrusted him with his seal, which was tantamount to giving him entire power to act on his behalf.

In 718 (36) Plancus was governor of Syria; and during his administration of that province, he received the title of imperator for some trifling successes. He is said to have plundered the province—a stock charge, which may, or may not, be true; and to have forfeited the good opinion of Antony for so doing—which is absurd. His real ground of quarrel with Antony was that Antony was gradually surrendering himself more and more, body and soul, to Cleopatra. Of this Plancus seriously disapproved, with the result that he became hateful to Cleopatra;† and when, finally, Cleopatra, in her endeavour to provoke a contest between the rulers of the East and West, urged Antony to divorce Octavia—then it was that Plancus felt that the crisis had come, and he had to choose between Rome and Egypt. He escaped with his nephew Titius to Rome in the middle of 722 (32), and was soon followed by many more of those who had previously been staunch friends of Antony.

Plancus now surpassed himself in meanness. As Antony's private secretary he knew of Antony's will, and had even been a witness to it. He knew how damaging some of the clauses in it might be to Antony, and urged that it should be published. Plancus knew that it had been lodged, as wills often were, with the Vestals. They refused to give it up. Caesar took it. Antony's recognition of Caesarion as son of Julius, and his grant of extravagant gifts to his own sons by Cleopatra, excited deep indignation.‡ Plancus related in the Senate the dotage deeds of the love-sick Antony, with such meanness and in such detail that a senator said, 'Antony must have committed a vast number of infamous acts the day before your departure,' indicating sarcastically

* Plin. H. N. ix. 12; Vell. ii. 83.

† Plut. Ant. 58.

‡ Dio Cass. 1, 3.

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of course otherwise the rigidly righteous Plancus would have
him long before.*

In the war which he had thus contributed to excite, Plancus
less took part, but we do not hear in what capacity. After
victory at Actium he retired into private life. There does
appear to have been any place for him in the administration
of the State. In melancholy mood, he thought of retiring to Greece,
as so many of those had repaired who were discontented
with the state of politics at Rome. Horace urges him not to leave
Rome but to repair to the shade of his Tibur, and drown his sor-
rows with mellow wine. The noble language and the ignoble
thought of that celebrated ode (i. 7) are familiar to all. Plancus did
not go to Greece; but he did not take to drink either. He applied
his versatile talent to oratory, and attained some measure of success.†
Being a friend of Pollio, he quarrelled with him. Pollio
wrote an invective which, in somewhat cowardly style, he did not
dare to publish until Plancus was dead. It got out, however.
'The shadows fight against the dead,' said Plancus, a sarcasm
which did grievous damage to the reputation of Pollio.‡

erected at Rome.* In 731 (23) Plancus was censor with Aemilius Paullus, but they could not agree. They were the last censors who were ordinary citizens, and henceforth the great office may be said to have been abolished.† The date of the death of Plancus is not known. The inscription on his tomb—probably composed by himself, as there is no notice of the length of time he lived—is preserved at Gaeta (C. I. L. x. 6087). *L. Munatius L. f. L. n. L. pron(epos) Plancus cos. cens. imp. iter (um) viiivir epulon(um) triumph(hator) ex Raetis aedem Saturni fecit de manib(iis) agros divisit in Italia Beneventi in Gallia colonias deduxit Lugudunum et Rauricam.* The tomb is now called the Torre d'Orlando, and is the chief object of interest at Gaeta. It consists of a huge circular structure of travertine blocks, resembling that of Caecilia Metella at Rome. Round the top runs a frieze with warlike emblems. A more magnificent site for such a monument cannot well be conceived.‡ To Plancus, in his life, and death, and memory, Fortune has been a faithful mistress.

He had three children—Munatius Plancus, with whom Horace was on friendly terms (Epist. i. 3, 31), and who seems to have been consul in 767 (13)§; a daughter, little known (Tac. Ann. ii. 75); and the notorious Plancina. The good fortune of the father deserted the children.

2. DECIMUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.

On the reading of Caesar's will, says Appian, a painful effect was caused when Decimus Brutus, who had been a prominent member of the conspiracy, was found to be one of Caesar's second heirs.||

* The inscription on the temple was (C. I. L. vi. 1316) *L. Plancus L. f. cos. imp. it(erum) f(ecit) de manib(iis)*. Plancus was saluted imperator for the second time in 719 (35).

† Claudius, Vespasian, and Domitian renewed the office, but retained it in their own hands.

‡ Bäder, Southern Italy, p. 18.

§ He was roughly handled by the soldiers of Germanicus when he was sent to them by the Senate (Tac. Ann. i. 39).

|| App. ii. 143, οἰκτιστον δὲ ἐφάνη μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Δέκμος ὁ

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Human nature cannot, and should not, condone ingratitude : the unpardonable sin. Caesar had a strong regard for Brutus : he treated him as one of his family ; and not only was Brutus base enough to join in the conspiracy, but he even made use of the ' dear, dear love ' which he professed to have for Caesar to urge him to come to the Senate on the fatal Ides.* We must approve of the conduct of Octavian in refusing to have any friendly relations at any time with Decimus, and forbear to censure Brutus, whose besetting sin was certainly not ingratitude, for seeing that he should pay with his life a just punishment for treachery. The very rank and file of the soldiers singled out Decimus for especial hostility.†

Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus was son of the Decimus Brutus who distinguished himself in opposing Saturninus and subsequently was consul in 677 (77), and the brilliant but unscrupulous Sempronius.‡ He was adopted by Aulus Postumius Albinus, consul in 655 (99), and from him obtained the additional name of Albinus. He was young in 698 (56), when we hear of him as being appointed by Caesar to be admiral of the

by Caesar to the Governorship of Transalpine Gaul; and a year or two afterwards he successfully put down a revolt of the Bellovaci, one of the most warlike of the Belgic tribes.* Meritorious as these actions were, they were not in themselves the ground for the special favour with which Caesar always regarded Decimus, and which was shown in a striking manner by his choosing him along with Antony and Octavian to accompany him in his chariot on his return from Spain to Italy in 709 (45)†: no, Caesar had a real affection for him. He was promised the praetorship for 710 (44), and subsequently the government of Cisalpine Gaul; and he was to hold the consulship in 712 (42).

The motives which urged Decimus to join the conspiracy can only be conjectured. Possibly he was jealous of the great favour shown by Caesar to Octavian and Antony. We have seen that, along with Octavian, these two were especial favourites of Caesar. Shakespeare represents Decimus (or Decius as he calls him) as being the first to suggest that Caesar be not the only victim—

Dec. Shall no man else be touched but only Caesar?

Cass. Decius, well urged: I think it is not meet

Mark Antony, so well beloved of Caesar,

Should outlive Caesar.‡

It was Decimus, to whom was assigned the duty of keeping Antony in conversation while the murder was being perpetrated.§ Decimus is said to have hesitated about joining the conspiracy when first solicited by Cassius and Labeo; but when he understood that Marcus Brutus was at the head of it, he promised him his hearty co-operation.||

After the murder of Caesar, Decimus was able to lend some assistance to his fellow-conspirators, as he had at his disposal a band of gladiators, whom he had collected for a show which was shortly to be given. Further, Decimus, as Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, had a considerable military force under his command, though it had, as Appian says (ii. 124), lost much of its spirit, owing to the severe labour it had recently undergone. He could, therefore, have

* Liv. Epit. 114.

† Plut. Ant. 11.

‡ Jul. Caes. ii. 1, 155.

§ Plut. Caes. 66.

|| Plut. Brut. 12.

ved a considerable part in public affairs immediately after the
s if he had been a man of large views or even one of resolute
rage. But in a letter written to M. Brutus and Cassius on
morning of March 17th, we find him feeble, despondent, and
solute at the first decided opposition on the part of Antony.
t vigorous man, who, until the days of Cleopatra, always rose
the occasion, declared that he, as consul, would not allow
imus to take his province, and that Decimus had better leave
city on account of the violent state of indignation which the
ple felt towards the tyrannicides. In his perplexity Decimus
ks of asking for a *legatio libera*, is uncertain whether it will
granted, fears sentence of exile even if it is granted, pro-
s retirement to Rhodes or Mitylene, contemplates even the
ibility of having recourse to the last refuge for human ills.
thinks that the only safety for the conspirators lay with Sextus
apeius or Caecilius Bassus, the enemies of their country.
ally, after a talk with Hirtius, he, with a certain note of
rulousness, determines to ask the consul to allow him to remain
come under police protection.* This letter is in the highest

make any effort to take it until the next year. The siege of Mutina that followed, the sally of Decimus, the defeat of Antony, the relief of the town, the delay of Decimus to pursue Antony, his futile march in pursuit, and his final junction with Plancus in Gaul about the middle of June, have been related in detail in the previous chapter (pp. xliii-liv), and need not be repeated here.

When Octavian was elected consul with Pedius on August 18, 711 (43), Decimus was one of the first to be deprived of his command and sentenced to death, while Antony and Lepidus were virtually rehabilitated, though the sentence of outlawry was not formally rescinded until some time afterwards. Pollio, marching up from Spain, had joined Antony, and used his influence to draw Plancus over to the same side. Decimus was thus left unsupported. He made an attempt to work his way round through the territory of the Helvetii, and the Rhaetian and Carnic Alps to the East. But his soldiers, mostly recruits, would not face the difficulties of the journey: besides Decimus had spent nearly all his money* ; and soldiers who would support a cause without very reasonable hope of being paid for it were not very numerous in those days. They deserted by degrees, in ever increasing numbers—the recruits to Octavian, the veterans to Antony†—until his army of ten legions was reduced to three hundred cavalry, and finally to ten horsemen. He disguised himself as a Celt, but was taken by brigands. He knew their chief Camilus, and had done him good service on a previous occasion. Camilus pretended to return the kindness, but sent to acquaint Antony that Decimus was his prisoner.‡ It was treachery to a benefactor; but Decimus was the last person who could with justice condemn such treatment. Even Antony was moved at the changes of fortune, but sent back an order for the head of Decimus. The story goes that at the last moment Decimus showed most un-Roman weakness. A friend,

* Strabo. iv. 7, p. 205, says that D. Brutus, 'when flying from Mutina,' was compelled by the Salassi, who lived about Eporedia, to pay a drachma a man for permission to pass. This probably refers to his march up to join Plancus.

† Appian (iii. 97) says that Decimus voluntarily allowed them to depart, and gave them what money he still possessed.

‡ Liv. Epit. 120; Vell. ii. 64.

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ius Blasio killed himself to give his general courage.* "Stretch our neck," said the executioner. "Upon my life, I will do answered Decimus, paltering before the inevitable: and rity remembered the death of the traitor as a subject not for but for a jest and a laugh.†

3. C. ASINIUS POLLIO.

he elder brother of C. Asinius Pollio possessed some little of hand, and used that gift to steal napkins when he went to dinner. Catullus assured him that the practice was a silly thing, not at all amusing; and that his brother Pollio should tell him so, for 'that boy, with his clear idea of what is in and wit,'‡ considers his brother deserving of a good trounce for his vulgarity.

At the time Catullus wrote this poem, young Pollio was about having been born in 678 (76). He appears to have studied Greek diligently, and when only 22 he had the courage to attack

later we find him with Caesar, and in 705 (49) he crossed the Rubicon with his general.* Caesar sent him with Curio to Sicily and Africa, and Pollio did good service, after the disastrous fight at Ruspina in which Curio lost his life, in gathering together the remnants of the army.† After this he crossed with Caesar to Greece, and fought at Pharsalia. Viewing the slain of the senatorial party after the battle, Caesar said to Pollio (Suet. Caes. 30):—‘They *would* have it so: after all my services I, Gaius Caesar, should have been condemned if I had not called the army to my assistance.’

Returning to Rome, Pollio was tribune for 707 (47), and opposed the foolish socialistic proceedings of Dolabella. But the trumpet again sounded, and Pollio crossed again to Africa, where we hear that, by bringing timely aid on one occasion, he and Caesar prevented a really serious disaster.‡ Next year he wrote to Cicero from Spain.§ He fought at Munda, and appears to have returned home with Caesar, and to have been appointed praetor.|| But he was speedily despatched back again to Spain to keep in check Sext. Pompeius, who had begun once more to collect forces. Velleius says that his campaign was ‘most glorious’; but Dio Cassius says that he was defeated, and only escaped ruin by the reconciliation effected by Lepidus between Sextus and the government after the death of Caesar. Dio (xlv. 10) tells a story that Pollio fled from the field, and in order to escape notice threw away his cloak, and disappeared for a time; that a distinguished cavalry officer named Pollio was reported among the slain; and that a combination of these two facts led both armies to consider that the commander-in-chief had fallen, the result being that the Romans surrendered.

After the death of Caesar, Pollio still continued to govern Further Spain with three legions, having his residence at Corduba. In the three letters (824, 890, 896) which he wrote to Cicero in the first half of 711 (43), he professed adherence to the government; ‘there is no danger which I shall avoid or shrink from or refuse in defence of liberty’; but he adduces many

* Plut. Caes. 32.

† App. ii. 40, 45, 46.

‡ Plut. Ant. 9; Caes. 52.

§ Att. xii. 38 a. 2 (581).

|| Vell. ii. 73.

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ons for his taking no decisive steps in the war against Antony. consuls had sent him no instructions, neither had Cicero; thus was acting in concert with Antony, and blocked the against any march from Spain into Italy: his own legions being influenced by lavish promises on the part of Antony. he declared that he would remain loyal to the govern- and would not surrender his province to anyone except the rnor appointed from Rome. He professed determined enmity ything like despotic power, and a resolution not to survive the state. At the same time he expressed himself most desirous of e, and full of longing for the pleasant and cultivated society of riends in the capital. On the 8th of July he started to march e scene of conflict: but it was a long way from Corduba; and he arrived at the Rhone, Octavian was master of Rome, and ny master of 20 legions. Pollio is not to be censured for ng joined the stronger side. He was cordially received, and otiated so effectively with Plancus, that he too was absorbed in Antonian multitude.

n 712 (42) Pollio was appointed governor of Transpadane Gaul

Pollio still remained Antony's lieutenant, and next year was sent by him against the Parthians in Dalmatia.* Pollio conducted the expedition with success, took their town of Salonae, and returning to Rome celebrated his Dalmatian triumph.† He had now fulfilled all that was fairly to be demanded from him of service to the State; and he was at liberty to retire from active political service, and devote himself to the more congenial pursuits of poetry, history, and oratory. He often spoke in the Senate and in the Courts; but his public life was over. In 722 (32) when Caesar marched against Antony, he asked Pollio to accompany him. Pollio pleaded in excuse 'my services to Antony are greater, but his kindness to me better known: accordingly, I shall withdraw myself from the struggle between you and fall a prey to the victor.'‡ He died about 4 A.D., aged 80, in his villa at Tusculum.

Roman literature and art owed much to Pollio. Not only was he patron of Horace and Virgil, but he established the first public library at Rome, and made a large collection of works of art to which he admitted the public.§ The practice of reciting literary works which was so common under the Empire was introduced by Pollio.|| But besides this, Pollio was distinguished as a poet, an historian, an orator, and a critic.¶ Of his poetry we have only the biassed and official opinions of Horace and Virgil.** One half-line of Pollio remains, quoted by Charisius (i. p. 100, 24 K.)—

Veneris antistita Cupra,

* Scodra, in Illyricum, was the limit which divided the territories of the two greater triumvirs, Lepidus having to content himself with Africa.

† Dio xlviii. 41; Hor. Od. ii. 1, 15, *Cui laurus aeternos honores Delmatico peperit triumpho*; cp. the fine lines in Virg. Ecl. 8, 8–13, a poem also addressed to Pollio. Pollio called his son, born in this year, Saloninus, in honour of his own achievement in this war.

‡ Vell. ii. 86, 3, *discrimini vestro me subtraham et ero praeda victoris*.

§ Plin. H. N. xxxv. 10, xxxvi. 33.

|| Seneca Controv. iv. praef. 2, *Pollio Asinius nunquam admissa multitudine declamavit; nec illi ambitio in studiis defuit: primus enim omnium Romanorum advocatis hominibus scripta sua recitavit*.

¶ We hear that Pollio, great worker as he was, never did anything, never even read a letter, after the tenth hour: cp. Senec. De Tranquill. Animi, 17.

** Hor. Od. ii. 1, 10 (for tragedies which were apparently acted), *Paullum severae Musa tragoediae Desit theatris*. Cp. Sat. i. 10, 42, *Pollio regum Facta canit pede ter*

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without having something more than this, we refuse to reconcile the poet. In his historical work on the civil wars from the birth of Metellus to the year 712 (42), he exhibited much independence, and generally a sincere love of truth. He spoke fully of the numbers slain on the senatorial side at Pharsalia, in high terms of Brutus and Cassius.* The history of Pollio much used by Plutarch and Appian, and is by some scholars supposed to be the original authority from which a rhetor composed Brut. i. 16, 17 (864, 865). Pollio affected the use of archaic words; and Ateius, the grammarian, warned him against the obscure and extravagant style of Sallust, advising him to use no words but the ordinary, common, and recognised terms to express his ideas.† Both in style and method Pollio served as a model for some of the great writers of the Empire: 'and it is to me quite evident,' says Schmalz (*Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio*, p. 6), 'that Pollio, in other respects too (besides Book vii. of *Hist. Nat.*), was the model of Pliny; and if we had Pollio's works as well as Pliny's work on Germany, a regular connexion between Pollio, Pliny, and Tacitus would be established, a connexion in respect not merely of contents, but also of systematic

Seneca, the philosopher (Epist. 100, 7), draws a pointed contrast between the two:—

‘Read Cicero: his style is uniform; it marches along slowly and softly without sinking to effeminacy. But Pollio’s, on the contrary, is rugged and jerky (*salebrosa et exsiliens*), and, just where you least expect it, sure to fail you. Finally, all Cicero’s periods come to a regular conclusion (*desinunt*), Pollio’s to a sudden collapse (*cadunt*), with the exception of a very few passages which are composed according to a definite rule and an uniform model.’

Pollio was one of the most influential, if not the most influential, of the opponents of the Ciceronian style; but his aggressive and arrogant nature* was irritated to the last degree by the increasing favour accorded to the lucidity and charm of Cicero’s language and style of oratory; and in his irritation he transcended all bounds of fair criticism, actually descending to downright dishonesty. He passed for the most hostile of all the ancients to the renown of Cicero†; but that was no excuse for his publishing in his speech for Lamia—for they who heard the speech declare that he did not utter the words—such a gross and scandalous lie as that

‘Cicero was quite ready to disown the speeches which he had delivered with all his heart and soul against Antony; to publish many times as many speeches of a contrary tenour; and even himself to deliver them in public to a meeting.’

On condition that Antony should spare his life, Pollio added many more degrading charges, but so absurd were they that nobody believed them. He did not, however, venture to insert such statements in his histories.‡ We happily have the judgment

Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero. If the mss did not forbid, we should wish (with Meiser and Gudeman) to read *nervosior Asinius*. His style was eminently ‘muscular.’ Valerius Maximus (viii. 13 ext. 4) speaks of Pollio as *nervosae civitatis* (‘longevity’) *haud parvum exemplum*.

* Seneca Controv. iv. praef. 4, *Pollionem contumacem natura*: cp. Tac. Ann. i. 12, *Asinii ferociam*. We read that the cross-grained historian Timagenes who attacked the whole imperial family, after Augustus renounced friendship with him, lived at Pollio’s house: cp. Senec. De Ira iii. 23.

† Seneca Suas. 6, 14, *infestissimus famas Ciceronis permansit*.

‡ Senec. Suas. 6, 14–15. The whole of this sixth Suasoria is on the subject, ‘*Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur*.’

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ved which Pollio, as a historian, passed on Cicero. He
ht fit indeed to contrast the courage shown by Verres in the
f death with the pusillanimity of Cicero—of which by the
here is no evidence; but, 'however unwilling,' as Seneca
he finally sums up Cicero's character in these words :—

When so many and such important works of Cicero are destined to live for
l time, to speak of his genius and industry is superfluous. Nature and
fortune alike were kind to him; he had a handsome face, and up to old
e he always enjoyed good health. Moreover it was his good fortune to
ve during a long period of peace, in all the arts of which he was a master.
or when trials were conducted with the strictness of ancient times a
eat crop of criminals sprang up, whom, when they were accused, he by his
vocation restored to freedom. He was most fortunate in the conditions
nder which he stood for the consulship, and, in the conduct of it, the gods
ere very bountiful to him owing to his judgment and energy. I would fain
at he could have borne prosperity with greater moderation, and adversity
ith greater firmness. For when either fortune fell to his lot, he thought
o change was possible: hence the storms of unpopularity rose violently
ound him, and his enemies were emboldened to attack him with greater
onfidence, for he courted hostilities with greater spirit than he faced
em. But since no human being is of absolute virtue, our judgment of a

quite boorish in his manners when praise was rendered to his former friend. An indifferent poet, one Sextilius Ena, recited a poem on Cicero in Messalla's house. When some applause greeted the verse

Deflendus Cicero Latiaeque silentia linguae,

Pollio, who was one of the guests, started up and said:—‘Of course, Messalla, you may allow what you think fit in your own house. I certainly will not listen to that man who considers me unable to speak,’* and forthwith left the room. He had the bad taste to declare in his speech for the heirs of Urbinia that the very fact that the opposing counsel was Labienus was a positive argument that his opponents’ case was a bad one.† The severity of his criticism was notorious, and he was very ready to censure others for faults, of which he was equally guilty himself.‡ Thus he censured Sallust for using strange words, an error to which he himself was signally prone§; and it was Pollio who accused Livy of “Patavinity,” which, to judge from the context of the passage in Quintilian, must have had reference to the introduction of strange words.||

Yet Pollio was a very considerable personality, with strong opinions, which he liked to express strongly; and he exercised no small influence on oratory, history, and literature, as we may

* Senec. Suas. 6, 27.

† Quintil. iv. 1, 11. The cause of his hatred to Labienus may have been that he said, ‘The old gentleman (Pollio) has won a triumph, but he never has had the courage to publish any of his theses’: cp. Senec. Controv. iv., praef. 2, *illo triumphalis senex apodæcis suas nunquam populo commisit*.

‡ Senec. Controv. iv. praef. § 3, *illud strictum eius et asperum et nimis iratum in censendo* (so Jahn rightly for *incendio*) *iudicium adeo cessabat ut in multis illi venia opus esset quae ab ipso rix impetrabatur*.

§ Suet. Gramm. 10: cp. Gell. x. 26, where it is said that Pollio criticised Sallust for using *transgressos* of soldiers who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, as *transgredi* should be used only in the case of walking.

|| Talking of foreign words which had come into the language Quintilian i. 5, 26, says:—*Taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque: nam ut eorum sermone utentem Vettium Lucilius insectatur, quemadmodum Pollio reprehendit in Livio Patavinitatem, licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam*; cp. viii. 1, 3. Livy appears to have previously made some remarks about those orators *qui verba antiqua et sordida consecretantur et orationis obscuritatem severitatem putant* (Senec. Controv. ix. 25, 26), and Pollio probably did not fail to see and feel their reference.

from the frequent quotations from his works in Seneca and
ilian. It was well that beside the Ciceronian exuberance
er more terse and less ornate style should have come into
even if it did lead at times to dulness and hardness. Where
al interests were not involved, Pollio was as solicitous for the
acy of the thing said as for the adequacy of the manner in
it was said. And thus his influence was twofold. It made
felt, as we have seen, in the productions of two of the greatest
n writers of the Empire—in the encyclopædic and accurate,
l-digested, erudition of Pliny, and in the epigrammatic and
re wisdom of 'the philosophic historian whose writings will
et the last generations of mankind,' Tacitus.

4. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

his Lentulus Spintther was the son of the Lentulus to whom
owed his restoration from exile* and to whom he wrote

Metella.* After Caesar's murder Lentulus was one of those who, though they had no part in the deed, yet tried to gain credit for being participators in it.† On April 21, he had an interview with Cicero.‡ He was appointed Proquaestor of Trebonius in Asia by the influence of M. and L. Antonius (883, 7), and undertook the administration of that province after the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella. His services to the State in that capacity, his pursuit of Dolabella, and his support of Cassius are related by him in an official letter to the Senate and Magistrates (882), and in a private letter to Cicero (883). What Lentulus wanted was to be confirmed in the government of Asia, until Hirtius and Pansa, to whom the province had been assigned, could find time to take it up. Lentulus would appear to have certainly made as much of his services as they deserved (cp. especially 883, 6); for they are not mentioned by Cassius (822), nor by Brutus (837), nor by Dio Cassius (xlvii. 26). Yet there is no need to deny that he performed the duties which were expected from an ordinary official with tolerable efficiency. Later we find him holding a command against Rhodes—which must have pleased him, as he had a grudge against the Rhodians—and directing operations at Myra in Lycia.§ Plutarch says that, as he was one of those who claimed to have participated in the murder of Caesar, he was put to death by Antony and Octavian. This is very probable, as in any case of amnesty to their opponents they always expressly excepted the murderers of Caesar.||

Lentulus appears to have been a man who aspired to play a considerable part in public affairs, but did not succeed in rising above mediocrity. His literary style is very good, and betokens a careful and finished training.¶

* Att. xii. 52, 2 (599); xiii. 7, 1 (619). She committed adultery with the son of the actor Æsopus, Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 239: cp. Att. xi. 15, 3 (430), *filius Æsopi me exercebat*; and apparently with Dolabella, xi. 23, 3 (437).

† Plut. Caes. 67: cp. 883, 6.

‡ Att. xiv. 11, fin. (714).

§ App. iv. 72, 82: cp. 882, 2-4.

|| Caes. 67. The coin with the legend, *AVGVSTVS DIVI F.*, Reverse *LENTVLVS SPINTHER*, with augural emblems, should not be referred to this Lentulus, but probably belongs to his son. The coins which Lentulus himself struck under the rule of Brutus and Cassius have on them *LIBERTAS*: cp. Babelon i. 427 f. It is hardly likely that a man who claimed to be a murderer of Caesar, and who made such a parade of opposition to his successors, would have been pardoned.

¶ See Dr. Albrecht Köhler, *Ueber die Sprache der Briefe des P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther*, Nürnberg, 1890.

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5. GAIUS FURNIUS.

Gaius Furnius was probably born about 672 (82), as his final year for standing for the praetorship was 712 (42): cp. (2). We first hear of him in 704 (50), when he was tribune. When Cicero went to Cilicia, Furnius undertook to oppose the prolongation of Cicero's tenure of the governorship beyond the year. He seems to have fulfilled his promise, though Cicero did not approve of a proviso that the governors of Cilicia and Syria should not leave their provinces if the Parthians assumed a hostile attitude before July.* He also aided Caelius in his efforts to obtain a *supplicatio* for Cicero. Furnius was a sensible, not a rabid, opponent of Caesar.† When the Civil War broke out he appeared on Caesar's side, and carried some letters between Caesar and Cicero.‡ We hear nothing more about him until 710 (44), when we find him on the staff of Plancus (787, 4), consul. He carried letters from Plancus to Rome at the end of 44, and afterwards conducted negotiations on behalf of Plancus and Lepidus. Cicero wrote two letters to Furnius (880, 907) in

large army to effect his capture.* Furnius refused to receive the surrender, and finally Sextus had to yield to Titius, by whom he was put to death.

After the battle of Actium Furnius was pardoned by Octavian at the intercession of his son,† and was promised the consulship. But he never held that office, owing to the number of claimants who had to be satisfied. In 725 (29), however, he was given the rank of consularis. Plutarch speaks of Furnius as a man of great reputation and the ablest speaker at Rome.‡ He was certainly a capable, sensible, and upright man. Whether he was the “candide Furni” addressed by Horace in Sat. i. 10, 86, or not, we cannot say.

6. C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Many small-minded historians have misrepresented the motives of Cassius in joining the conspiracy against Caesar. According to them, being a passionate man, he was inflamed with resentment for some trifling personal injury,§—perhaps because Caesar gave the urban praetorship to Brutus, though he acknowledged that Cassius had the better claim, or because Caesar seized some lions which Cassius had prepared for his aedilician show.

‘But they are wrong,’ says Plutarch (Brut. 9): ‘for from the very beginning of his life Cassius felt hatred and hostility towards the whole class of tyrants, as he showed when he was still a boy and went to the same school as Faustus, the son of Sulla. Among the boys Faustus was boasting of and glorifying the despotic power of his father, when Cassius

* App. v. 140, *ἡξίωσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γε γεννημένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιωτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.*

† Seneca (Benef. ii. 25) notices a charming reply of young Furnius to the Emperor when he granted the pardon: ‘You have done me but one wrong, Caesar; you have made it impossible for me to show my gratitude either in life or death’ (*hanc unam, Caesar, habeo iniuriam tuam; effecisti ut viverem et morerer ingratus*). It was probably this young Furnius who conducted the war against the Asturians and Cantabrians in 732 (22): cp. Dio Cass. liv. 5.

‡ Ant. 58, *ὅς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότητος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων.*

§ Plut. Brut. 8, *Κάσσιος ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ μᾶλλον ἰδίᾳ μισοκαῖσαρ ἢ κοίτῃ μισοτύραννος.*

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rose up and struck him with his fist. When the guardians and relations of Faustus wished to follow the matter up and punish him, Pompey prevented them; and, confronting the boys with one another, investigated the matter. Then the story goes that Cassius said, "Come, Faustus, dare to repeat before Pompey here those words at which I was provoked, that I may break your mouth again (*ἵνα σοῦ πάλιν ἐγὼ συντρίψω τὸ στόμα*)."

That was the the kind of man Cassius was.'

Born some years before Brutus, he first appears prominently as a general in the East; and there he displayed that judgment in military matters which always characterized him. He recommended Crassus not to cross the Euphrates and the river; and again, when the battle came on, and he was in command of one of the wings, he advised that the line should be extended, and the wings strengthened by the cavalry. In these matters his advice was disregarded, with disastrous results. With much skill he led the defeated army back to Carrhae. There the soldiers offered him the chief command, but he refused it. Trusting the guides who proposed to conduct the retreating army, he managed to escape with 500 horsemen into Syria, where

nothing but Bedouins dressed up in Parthian costume—a rumour which seems to have prevailed in Rome at this time.* There was probably not much truth in this; for Cassius was a true Roman in his military capacity, and no charlatan like Bibulus. But he was also a true Roman in his plundering of provincials, and in amassing money any way and every way. He would appear to have used his official position to make a ‘corner’ in Syrian merchandise, and thereby to have earned the nickname of *Caryota*, ‘the Date.’† He returned home in 704 (50), and was succeeded by Bibulus. He seems to have anticipated accusation for extortion; but the civil war broke out, and more important matters required attention.‡

During the next year Cassius commanded the fleet of Pompey, destroyed several of the enemy’s ships off Messana, and ravaged the coast of Italy. On receiving news of the defeat at Pharsalia, he sailed to the East. In the Hellespont he fell in with Caesar, and though he had superior numbers, surrendered. Was it treachery? At any rate Caesar made him one of his legates. It is uncertain whether he served in the Alexandrian War. He certainly took part in the campaign against Pharnaces. During 708, 709 (46, 45), he remained in the south of Italy, chiefly at Brundisium, and carried on a pleasant correspondence with Cicero, in the course of which the two friends wrote much to one another on certain elementary principles of the Epicurean philosophy, which they treat in a rather superficial style.§ Cassius did not take any active part in Caesar’s later campaigns, as he did not wish to stand in arms against his old friends: for the Pompeian party were his old friends, and Caesar was his old enemy. Many a time during those long months of enforced idleness, the passionate and ambitious soul of Cassius must have writhed at seeing Caesar advancing from victory to victory, until he bestrode the world like a Colossus; he must have found the fault in himself that he was an

* Fam. xv. 14, 3 (241) *pro rerum magnitudine*: Att. v. 20, 3 (228); Fam. iii. 8, 10 (222); viii. 10, 3 (226).

† Aurel. Victor 83, 3, *Deinde quod coemptis Syriacis mercibus foedissime negotiaretur Caryota cognominatus est*.

‡ Cp. Fam. xv. 14, 4 (241), *si quae sunt onera tuorum*, perhaps, refers to an attack on Gaius as well as on Quintus Cassius.

§ Fam. xv. 16–19 (530, 531, 541, 542). In Att. xiii. 22, 2 (635) we hear that Cassius wrote to Cicero about the death of Marcellus.

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erling ; reflected that men at some times are masters of their
; and remembered, like a true Roman, how in the olden days
ancient Roman

would have brooked
Th' eternal devil to keep his state in Rome
As easily as a king.

l Caesar was but mortal. Thus began the fire of the conspiracy
the master-mind, and it found discontent and disappointed
bition everywhere to feed its flame.

Cassius was much mistrusted by Caesar. Shakespeare, follow-
Plutarch,* makes Caesar say (Jul. Caes. i. 2, 200) :—

I do not know the man I should avoid
So soon as the spare Cassius. He reads much ;
He is a great observer, and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men.

Caesar made him praetor peregrinus : and when he said that
sius deserved the more honourable office of the urban praetor-
, he probably meant that to be a graceful solace for the trifling

make a virtue of necessity. Cassius, 'with flashing eyes, you would fancy he was breathing out fire and slaughter,'* declared he would not go. Cicero, however, tells Atticus that he thinks he will go: and go he did, but not, however, as a corn-commissioner to Sicily, but as a military commander to Syria, the scene of his old victories, which province had been promised to him by Caesar. Antony had succeeded in having that province legally granted to Dolabella by the people, but Cassius hastened to secure it first. Here he collected a large army (see above, p. xxxviii): and when Dolabella came to take up the government of Syria, Cassius blockaded him in Laodicea, where he was reduced to such extremities that he killed himself,† and thus the murder of Trebonius was avenged. Cassius was preparing to march against Cleopatra—the Egyptian treasures were tempting, and Cassius had an 'itching palm'—when he was recalled to Asia Minor by Brutus. He left his brother in command in Syria, and joined Brutus at Smyrna. They arranged to plunder Asia Minor, which was favourably disposed to the Caesarians. Cassius took Rhodes by the help of traitors within the walls, and exacted 8500 talents from the inhabitants. Ten years' tribute in advance was demanded from the towns of Asia Minor. Brutus, 'the honourable man,' practised such extortion in Lycia that the Xanthians, as long before in the Persian invasion, buried themselves in the ashes of their town. Yet Brutus was very severe about the peculation of public money by an inferior; and he nearly quarrelled at Sardis with Cassius, who wished that indulgence should be shown to one L. Pella who was guilty of embezzling public funds.‡ When they had crossed over to Sestos, some of the soldiers who had been Caesar's veterans expressed unwillingness to serve against his nephew. Cassius made a speech in justification of the war they were waging against him, and by the help of lavish bribes succeeded in confirming the veterans in their obedience.§ When Brutus and Cassius occupied a strong position on the hills at Philippi, Cassius wished that no engagement should be commenced;|| as the difficulty which the triumvirs would

* Att. xv. 11, 1 (744), *fortibus sane oculis, Cassius,—Martem spirare diceret.*

† Cp. 882, 883, 891, 901; Dio Cass. xlvii. 30.

‡ Plut. Brut. 28–35.

§ App. iv. 89 ff.

|| App. iv. 133 declares that Cassius thought of the war, and the war only, like a

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science in getting provisions would soon break up their army. Brutus wished also to draw the war over into Asia; but Cassius ruled him. When the battle came on, Cassius on the left wing defeated by Antony, and retired to a hill. Brutus, who had led Octavian and the left wing of the enemy's army, sent a body of troops under Titinius to discover how Cassius had fared. Brutus, who was short-sighted,* thought that they were the enemy, mistook the cries of joy from his own soldiers for signs that they had been taken prisoners. He retired to his tent, and called his freedman Pindarus, whom he had with him, even in the Cyprian war eleven years before, to do him the last service if it should be needed. The time was come now; and wrapping his sword round his head he bared his neck to the blow. Pindarus did the last service and disappeared. Brutus soon arrived and was filled with bitter grief over his friend, 'Thou last of all the Romans, fare thee well'—intimating, says Plutarch, that Rome would never produce another such great spirit.† Perhaps Rome never did in after ages produce a man who possessed such military skill and courage with unrelenting hostility

7. MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.

General opinion regards Marcus Brutus as an 'honourable man,' who, from the highest motives of Roman patriotism, slew his benefactor when that benefactor raised himself above the level of a citizen, and who died a martyr to the cause of republican freedom. It may be well to sketch briefly the career of Brutus and examine how far the general opinion is justifiable.

Rumour or scandal asserted in the generation which succeeded the death of Brutus—for there is no account in the contemporary Nicolaus of Damascus—that he was the son of Caesar. There is no question at all that Cato's sister Servilia, the wife of Marcus Brutus, who was lieutenant of Lepidus in his attack on the Sullan constitution, was the mother of Brutus and was passionately in love with Caesar.* Neither is there any difficulty as to the age of Caesar when Brutus was born. Velleius (ii. 72) says explicitly that Brutus was 37 years of age at his death;† therefore he was born in 675 (79), when Caesar was 21. This definite statement must be considered as outweighing the indefinite remark of Cicero (Brut. 324) that Hortensius began to speak *ten* years before Brutus was born, which would fix the birth of Brutus to 669 (85), when Caesar was only 15; and there are independent reasons for supposing that the number given by Cicero is erroneous.‡ Schmidt points out that both the friends and the enemies of Brutus were interested in spreading this rumour; the friends as thereby exalting the patriotism of their hero, who sacrificed natural affection for his country; and his enemies, as deepening the guilt of one who added parricide to ingratitude. This fact that there was every

* See the story in Plut. Brut. 5, who says: ἐγνώκει γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, νεανίας ὁν ἔτι τὴν Σεργιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσσαν αὐτῷ: cp. Appian, ii. 112.

† Cp. Livy, Epit. 124, *annorum erat circiter XL*.

‡ Cic. Brut. 324, *Annis ante decem causas agere coepit quam tu es natus*. Nipperdey (Rhein. Mus. xix. 291) wishes to read *sedecim* for *decem*, in order to bring Cicero into accord with Velleius. He argues that the order in which the orators are named in the *Dialogue on Orators* is that of date of birth; and if this is so, Brutus was born after Calvus. But Calvus seems to have been born about the same time as Curio, i.e. 672 (82), and after Caelius, 669 (85); cp. Brut. 279, 272. Accordingly Brutus was born after 672 (82).

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for the invention of the story makes us hesitate to accept and Caesar's regard for Brutus can be adequately explained by influence of Servilia, whose favour with Caesar remained so considerable even to the last,* that all kinds of stories arose as to methods which she adopted to retain it.† The matter still remains uncertain.

But it is certain that Servilia's relations with Caesar were of special assistance to young Brutus when we first hear of him. During Caesar's consulship, the informer Vettius accused him of conspiring with others to murder Pompey, but Vettius withdrew his accusation, apparently, as Cicero suggests, at the direction of Caesar and the influence of Servilia.‡ Shortly afterwards, perhaps in consequence of this affair, Brutus left for Greece, where he appears to have been when, in 697 (57), he was summoned by his uncle to help him in the unpleasant duty of confiscating the property of the King of Cyprus. Brutus, 'though young and a senator, and considering the business dishonourable and unsuitable to himself,'§ answered the summons: and there invested his money (as we might say) in 'Cappadocians' and 'Cyprians,'

for extortion directed against Appius Claudius.* He had returned to Rome before Cicero went to Cilicia, and doubtless expected that the parvenu governor (even though he was an ex-consul) would not venture to hesitate about enforcing such contracts as Roman nobles had made with subjects. When he found that Cicero was hesitating in the matter, he wrote in an arrogant *de haut en bas* manner, which Cicero justly resented.† The history of the relations of Cicero and Brutus in these affairs has been related in vol. III., pp. xxviii-xxxii. Business is business; but it is perhaps pressing business claims a little too far when debtors are starved to death.‡ To an Antonius or a Dolabella such might be only a regrettable incident; but we should have expected from the philosophic Brutus that he would have instantly dismissed agents whose zeal carried them to such lengths. But Brutus, besides being a philosopher, was a Roman, and Romans had very strong views about business; and the Salaminians were provincials. But perhaps we must not be excessively indignant when we remember that excellent people of the present day cheerfully invest their money in companies who work their employés, men and women, fourteen hours a-day with results at which even dividend drawers are sometimes disconcerted.§

* Cp. Aurel. Vict. 82, 3, *Quaestor in Galliam proficisci <Caesari> noluit quod is bonis omnibus displicebat. Cum Appio Claudio in Cilicia fuit et cum ille repetundarum accusaretur ipse ne verbo quidem infamatus est.* It is probable that the writer is stating what was the fact; but we must always be on our guard against him when we find such a statement as the following, in his Life of Cicero, § 3, *Aedilis C. Verrem repetundarum damnavit, praetor Ciliciam latrocinii liberavit, consul coniuratos capite punivit*; and in his Life of Antony, § 2, *Augustum perfidiose tractavit, a quo apud Mutinam victus, Perusiae fame domitus in Galliam fugit. Ibi Lepidum sibi collegam adiunxit.*

† Att. vi. 3, 7 (264); vi. 7, 1 (270). ‡ Att. vi. 1, 6 (252).

§ About this time Cicero, writing to Appius Claudius, father-in-law of Brutus, speaks of him warmly as 'long since the first of the younger men; soon, I trust, to be first of the state,' Fam. iii. 11, 3 (265). Such official judgments of Cicero's must not be taken as his cool and deliberate opinions. Similarly, when he says of Brutus, in the *Orator*, 'Who was ever more respected than you, or more genial (*dulcior*)?' we should not regard this as more than the merest compliment. So too, in Brut. 330, Cicero speaks of his 'most delightful' (*suavissimis*) letters, and in a rather formal communication to Dolabella, shortly after the death of Caesar, Fam. ix. 14, 5 (722), he delivers quite a panegyric on Brutus, *semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum propter eius summu ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem et constantiam.* For the difference between the official and real opinions of Cicero on public men, contrast what he says about Piso in Planc. 12 and Att. i. 13, 2 (19).

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When Cicero left his province in the middle of 704 (50) Brutus was to have at once hastened thither, along with the new governor, Sestius, in order to see how his demands could most fully be realized. He had to be recalled by his uncle Cato to take his place in the Pompeian army.*

During the spring of 706 (48) Cicero, writing from Pompey's camp, relates that Brutus was acting with great vigour, adding that prudence forbids him to say more.† But Brutus does not seem to have considered that his loyalty need be proof against time. Accordingly, after the battle of Pharsalia, he escaped by sea to Larissa, and from that place wrote to Caesar, who, as Plutarch says, was delighted that he was alive. Caesar ordered him to come to him, acquitted him of all blame, and even showed him especial honour.‡ Brutus repaid this by informing Caesar that Pompey had fled.§ Loyalty appears to have been a virtue foreign to Brutus. Dante was right to put him in the very jaws of Satan (*Inferno*, Canto xxxiv.).

We hear nothing more of Brutus until the late summer of 47. At that time he defended Deiotarus before Caesar, at Nicaea, with a vigorous speech. It was on this occasion that Caesar made

letter afforded him. 'I seemed once more to be recalled to the light of day from a long-continued disorder of my whole constitution.' But we must not lay too much stress on such language in a work dedicated to Brutus, and written by Cicero, especially when we read in the next clause an equally effusive statement that the gift of the *Annals* of Atticus was beyond anything pleasing and appropriate, and roused him from his prostrate condition.*

During the two years which followed, Brutus in public life acted as one of Caesar's ministers, and at the same time was on friendly relations with Cicero and others of the republican party. It is not at all necessary, or even desirable, that a politician should have no private friendship with these who hold opposite views as to the administration of the State. Accordingly we find ourselves unable to accept the original and ingenious theory of Prof. O. E. Schmidt,† that the letter addressed by Brutus to Caesar in 47 was written at Caesar's orders, and that Brutus, as 'decoy-duck,' had been entrusted with the task of drawing over the moderate republicans to acquiescence in Caesar's rule. We think that a person like Brutus, who, with all his respectability and ancient name, was so stiff, so dogged, and so ungracious, was not by any means suited for a duty which required much *finesse*, flexibility of mind, and attractiveness of manner.

We have positive evidence that Caesar never put any restrictions on his followers in respect of their choice of friends. In the celebrated letter of Matius to Cicero, which is instinct with loyalty and truth, Matius says, Fam. xi. 28, 7 (785):—

Caesar numquam interpellavit quin quibus vellem atque etiam quos ipse non diligebat tamen eis uterer.

And, no doubt, Caesar left as much freedom to Brutus as he did to Matius. That Caesar was generous to literary men, even to those

* Cic. Brut. 12, *Me istis scito litteris ex diuturna perturbatione totius valetudinis tamquam ad aspiciendam lucem esse revocatum . . .* 13. *An mihi potuit esse aut gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam illius libri quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit?* cp. § 330.

† M. Junius Brutus, in 'Verhandlungen der 40 Philologenversammlung,' Götting, 1889, pp. 165–185. It is to this work that reference is principally made. 'Ein falscher Freiheitsheld des Alterthums,' in *Grenzboten*, 1889, Nos. 8, 9, pp. 362–369, 407–414. 'Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero,' Leipzig, 1893. The services of Schmidt, as

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attacked him with unmeasured virulence, is proved from his treatment of Catullus (cp. Suet. Jul. 73). Though Caesar was not so great in 55 as he was in 45, yet even at the former date he was a very influential personage; he was, as Calvus, who gave the name to Catullus, said, the *magnus quem metuunt omnes*. Much, therefore, would he abstain from interfering with the private friendships of his friend Brutus; and the connexion of Brutus with Cicero and other republicans was mainly one of social and literary intercourse, not one of united political action.

During the two years which followed Cicero's return to Rome in November, 47, he devoted himself vigorously to literary work, confining himself chiefly to the subject-matter, oratorical theory and philosophy as the case might be; but occasionally, in order to ease his conscience, he let drop a word or two to show that, though he did not resist, yet he did not sympathise with, the Caesarian policy. First, he composed the *Brutus*, then a panegyric on *Cato*, and lastly that the *Orator*. The first and third were dedicated to Marcus Brutus, who at this time held the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul, a post which he filled with conspicuous success (Plut. Brut. 1). Schmidt is of opinion that Brutus asked Cicero to write some-

his influence to ensure that it should not be given to the world. In connexion with these two works, Schmidt excellently refers (p. 174, note 4) to a fragment of a letter from Cicero to Brutus, quoted by Quintilian (v. 10, 9):—

Veritus fortasse ne nos in *Catonem* nostrum transferremus illum (sc. from the *Brutus*) mali quid, etsi argumentum simile non erat.

Brutus rightly thought it more politic that Cicero should avoid needless attacks on the Caesarian party. Cicero himself thought so too; a little before he had said to Paetus: ‘The work for me to do is not foolishly to say any rash word or do any rash deed against the dominant party.’*

Cicero had no reason to dread Caesar’s wrath: there were really no grounds to fear that he would ‘in boorish fashion make his retort with the sword.’† Not only was Caesar wise enough to know that considerable latitude in such circumstances was advisable, and that the moderate republicans might discharge their republican sympathies in that way, and so be less dangerous in the sphere of politics; but we must also remember that Caesar was no ordinary Caesarian, and ‘that he still cherished at heart the magnificent dream of a free commonwealth, although he was unable to transfer it either to his adversaries or to his adherents’ (Mommsen, R. H. iv. 321). Caesar determined to answer the republican *Catos* with the pen, and not with the sword. As a sort of an outline sketch (*πρόπλασμα*) of what Caesar’s work would be like, Hirtius, in the spring of 709 (45), wrote an invective against Cato, with much praise of Cicero (Att. xii. 40, 1 (584)); and some time later Caesar, notwithstanding all his duties, wrote two *Anti-Catos* (Tac. Ann. iv. 34; Juv. vi. 338). In these works he praised Cicero’s life and eloquence as most resembling those of Pericles and Theramenes.‡

* Fam. ix. 16, 5 (472).

† Cp. Fam. xv. 19, 4 (542), *Vereor ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμικτηρίσαι*.

‡ Cp. Plut. Cic. 39. The praise is high. The judgment on Theramenes as a politician contained in the *Constitution of Athens*, c. 28, is that a diversity of opinion exists about him, the forms of government at his time being subject to much confusion; ‘yet he seems to writers who are not superficial to have been a man who did not (the charge commonly brought against him) destroy every form of government, but

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In a letter to Balbus Caesar appears to have spoken much about the *Catos* of Cicero and Brutus; and with some irony declared that while, from a frequent perusal of the former, he had obtained a more flowing style (*copiosiore factum*), after reading the work of Brutus, he considered himself an eloquent man (*disertum*). The language of Brutus was certainly, as a rule, heavy and cold.*

Caesar was large-minded enough to bear with even Brutus when he wrote a panegyric on his uncle Cato, just as he did not omit his words of eulogy on Marcellus (see Senec. *Helv.* 9. 4). He seems to ignore the subject-matter of the *Catos* of Cicero and Brutus, and to criticise only the style. But the *Cato* of Brutus was a poor work. Not only was it full of errors, but in an unpolished, paltry, and jealous manner, he tried to minimize the merits of Cicero in the Catilinarian conspiracy.†

About June, 709 (45), Brutus divorced his wife Claudia, daughter of Appius Claudius, to whom he had been married for many years. It does not appear to have had any fault to find with her, and he incurred some censure for the divorce.‡ His reason was that he wished to marry Cato's daughter, Porcia, widow of Bibulus.

stantly visiting him.* Cicero admired Brutus in many ways and at a distance; he could tolerate his company for a short time; but continued personal intercourse with such a rigid, persistent, ungracious man was a burden†; and he expresses that feeling in the most courteous way possible to Atticus, who was a close friend of Brutus. We cannot think, with Schmidt (p. 176, Briefwechsel, pp. 322-4), that Cicero was afraid that Brutus was suspected of hatching republican schemes because he had just married Cato's daughter, and that he (Cicero) might compromise himself with the Caesarians if he should be observed to have frequent interviews with the supposed conspirator. But Caesar does not appear to have had any suspicion of Brutus at this time: the kind of caution which Schmidt attributes to Cicero was not characteristic of Cicero: and it is hard to believe that in a private letter to Atticus he would not have expressed himself more explicitly.

When Caesar returned from Spain, Brutus communicated to Atticus—apparently in a letter written early in August, Att. xiii. 40, 1 (660)—his belief that Caesar was intending to return to the policy of the Optimates, probably because Caesar had stated that, instead of the *præfecti urbis*, the ordinary magistrates would be appointed. The hope which arose when Marcellus was pardoned, but which had been speedily dispelled, now only very slightly moved even the impulsive Cicero‡:—

‘So Brutus announces the conversion of Caesar to the cause of the Optimates. Three cheers! But where will he find them? Unless, indeed, he hangs himself (and goes to join them in the other world). But what is Brutus himself going to do? (Is he going to oppose Caesar?) You say ‘it is idle to expect it.’ Where, then, do you leave that *chef d’œuvre* of yours, the family tree which exhibits the ancestors of Brutus as far

* Att. xiii. 11, 1 (625): *Ne magnum onus observantiae Bruto nostro imponerem. . . . Hoc autem tempore cum ille me cotidie videre vellet, ego ad illum ire non possem, privabatur omni delectatione Tusculani.*

† Cp. Att. xii. 29. 1 (565) of a previous occasion: *Nec ego Brutum vito nec tamen ab eo levationem ullam exspecto, sed erant causae cur hoc tempore istic esse nollem, quas si manebunt, quaerenda erit excusatio apud Brutum et, ut nunc est, mansurae videntur.*

‡ Itane nuntiat Brutus illum ad bonos viros? Εὐαγγέλια. Sed ubi eos? Nisi forte se suspendit. Hic autem? Tu ‘futilum est.’ [The mss give *ut fultum est*. Schmidt admirably suggests *futilum*. We have ventured to alter *ut* into *tu*.] Ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum, quod vidi in Parthenone, Αἶψαλῃ et Brutum? Sed quid faciat?

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back as Ahala the tyrannicide and Brutus the first consul, and which I have seen in the room which Brutus calls his Parthenon? (i. e., do you not at all take into account the effect of family tradition on Brutus?) But after all what can he do?'

This would lead us to suppose that Cicero thought it probable that Brutus might be so far influenced by his ancestors as to dissociate himself from the monarchy; and that he sympathized with such a project, but reflected that Brutus could do but little, as there was no Optimate party existing. Still this passage is a proof that the restoration of the republic was a possibility towards which Cicero (and, accordingly, perhaps Brutus) thought that Brutus *might* contribute. Yet Brutus still continued to act openly as a Caesarian, and, as we have seen, was appointed urban praetor for 44. But the real contradiction of his life was now beginning. Up to this, wherever his sympathies may have lain, he had *acted* loyally for Caesar; now his action becomes divided, openly for the monarchy, secretly against it. For the conspiracy was already afoot. We read that, in the summer of 45, Trebonius met Antony at Narbo, and sounded him

into the position of nominal leader of the plot. And there may have been the additional reason, ingeniously suggested by Schmidt (pp. 177-178), that, as Caesar had in the autumn of 45 adopted Octavian, all hopes that Brutus would be Caesar's heir had vanished; and to a man who had received great favours from Caesar, and who was deficient in generosity and loyalty, as was Brutus, such a motive need not have been without its influence.* Still the fact that Marcus Brutus was not made even a *second* heir in Caesar's will, while Decimus Brutus was nominated as such, makes us hesitate to adopt this suggestion; yet there is certainly evidence, as Schmidt points out (though it does not appear until long after the Brutus-legend had been developed) that it was surmised by the friends of Brutus that he would be Caesar's heir, or at any rate the first man in Rome after Caesar: cp. Plutarch, Brut. 8:—

‘When certain people denounced Brutus and bid Caesar be on his guard against him, touching his body with his hand, Caesar said: ‘What? Do you think that Brutus cannot wait until this frail body (*σπαρκίον*) shall pass away?’ implying that no one else had a right to his plenitude of power after him except Brutus. And it does seem that Brutus would have been assuredly the first man in the city if he had waited but a short time until Caesar sank to a secondary place, and if he had allowed Caesar's glory to fade and the renown of his actions to wither away.’

It is difficult to take this view of the matter. Rather it would seem that Caesar, with his profound insight into character, saw the great qualities of Octavian, and the absence of anything really great in Brutus; accordingly, he designated the former as his successor, while he considered that he had already bestowed sufficiently ample favours on the latter.† No further reasons than these are necessary to account for the fact that Brutus joined the conspiracy, or for the prominent part he took in it.

The deed of blood once done, it was the duty of Brutus to take

* We should like to know what attitude Servilia took up towards the conspiracy. We fancy one of disapproval. She was certainly not friendly to Porcia, cp. Att. xiii. 22, 4 (635); and she may have retained much of her passion for Caesar. But, as she appears to have never wearied in the interests of her son—cp. Att. xv. 10 (743); 11, 2 (744); 17, 2 (749); Brut. i, 18, 1 (915)—she certainly kept silence.

† See vol. v., p. xxxii.

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st place in the government. He was quite unfitted for the but for the next two years he was unquestionably regarded chief man in the Republic—it was to him in the last resort the State always looked. It would be superfluous to tell over the story of how Brutus and Cassius were out-manceuvred by and finally compelled to leave for the East. Brutus professed himself willing to go as it conduced to peace, but he really to prepare war. We have already traced in full (cp. p. xxxvff.) tions up to the consulship of Octavian, and recorded the ation, hardly short of disloyalty, which characterized his le towards C. Antonius and Lepidus, and his persistent dis- of Cicero's urgent appeals for help. The bitter manner in he criticised Cicero's conduct towards Octavian may, per- be considered justified by the result; but it is none the less of the ungraciousness of the style of Brutus. His perpetual Peace, Peace, when peace was impossible,* shows his inability sp the situation. Even his panegyrists allow that he felt shame at having deserted Cicero;† but at length he saw that was inevitable. Then he acted like the most ordinary general;

breath declared his renunciation of all belief in the virtue which he fancied he had sincerely followed,

Poor Virtue—a mere name, yet as the truth
I ever served thee ; yet thou 'rt Fortune's slave.*

This shows the smallness of the depth to which philosophy had sunk in that superficial and arid mind. It was not virtue that was a name, but Brutus's conception of virtue that was a sham. 'He seems to have been,' says Mr. Long, 'one of those who deceive themselves into a belief of their own virtues, because they are free from other people's vices.' Brutus was a man of cold feelings, temperate fancies.† He did not pass a tumultuous youth, like so many of his contemporaries‡ ; nor a vigorous, braiding, active life : instead, he devoted himself to study, and loaded his memory, if not his mind, with the maxims of philosophy. But they remained only maxims, and did not become part and parcel of his nature. Of noble birth, well educated, austere and cold-hearted, persistent and obstinate when he took an idea into his head, and one who made considerable parade of principle in unessentials,§ he was the very model of Roman respectability ; and it is to this respectability he owed his influence.|| But he was

* Dion Cass. xlvii. 49, καὶ ἀναβόησας τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ('this exclamation of Hercules')—

ὦ τλήμων ἀρετῇ, λόγος ἔρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε
ὡς ἔργον ἡσκούν' σὺ δ' ἔρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.

It is not known from what poet these lines come : cp. Nauck, p. 910. Plutarch, the panegyrist of Brutus, relates (c. 52) that, when bidding farewell to those who were around him, he gave his hand to each quite cheerfully, and declared that he felt great pleasure that none of his friends had ever deceived him. This is quite the most attractive story that is told of Brutus.

† Hence the dulness and want of vigour in his oratory : see above, p. civ. 'In Latin oratory,' says Plutarch, 'he was adequately trained for speeches and altercations ; but in Greek he practised the sententious Laconic style of brevity which appears sometimes in his letters.' He gives some examples (Brut. 2).

‡ Yet he did not escape calumnious strokes : cp. Aurel. Vict. 82, 2, *Cytherida mimam cum Antonio et Gallo poeta amavit*.

§ Cp. Plut. Brut. 35.

|| According to Plutarch (Brut. 29), Brutus was 'extraordinarily mild and high-minded, and unmoved by anger, pleasure, or love of aggrandizement (πλεονεξία), keeping his judgment straight and unbending in defence of justice and honour ; but

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ing but respectable. He was destitute of practical wisdom of the highest kind, he was an incompetent general, and when compelled to take the helm of state in wild times he ran his ship right upon the rocks. But we think of him chiefly in connexion with Cicero, the unemotional in connexion with the impulsive, the severe in connexion with the tolerant, the rigid in connexion with the gracious. Ungraciousness, lack of charm characterized his being. A story is told that at a banquet Brutus,

wishing to encourage his followers, called for a larger cup, and taking it, without any apparent relevancy he chanted forth the line

Stern Fate and Leto's son have laid me low.

Further, they relate that when he was going forth to the last battle, at Philippi, he gave as the watch word to his soldiers "Apollo." Wherefore they think that his utterance of that verse was an omen of his misfortune.*

and perhaps in a deeper sense we may consider how true it is that the lack of that power and influence which belongs to the polline nature, to what is bright and gracious and charming, contradicted the aims and aspirations of Brutus, with all that they

III.—THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH M. BRUTUS.

The genuineness of Cicero's correspondence with Brutus was first seriously questioned in 1741 by Tunstall in an 'Epistola ad virum eruditum Conyers Middleton.* Middleton replied two years later by an edition of the letters in which their genuineness was defended, and to this Tunstall made a rejoinder in 1744. In 1745, Markland, in a vigorous work,† with many scoffs at the forger, supported Tunstall's view, mainly on the ground of inaccuracy of language; and the question seemed decided that the Epistles to Brutus must go the way of the Epistles of Phalaris. That seemed to be so fully taken for granted that Niebuhr (1828) and Drumann (1838) speak of the correspondence as spurious, the latter with contempt,‡ the former with considerable reserve.§ Orelli also in his edition (1831) regarded it as spurious.

* Erasmus, writing to Rhenanus in 1520, says (Ep. i. 1), 'Porro, quas (epistolas) nobis reliquit nescio quis *Bruti* nomine, nomine *Phalaridis*, nomine *Senecae et Pauli*, quid aliud censi possunt quam declamatiunculae.'

† Remarks on the Epistles of Cicero to Brutus, and of Brutus to Cicero, in a letter to a friend, 1845.

‡ Geschichte Roms. iv. 40, 'die Sammlung welche grobe Verstöße gegen die Geschichte und besonders gegen die Zeitfolge enthält.'

§ Niebuhr, Lectures on the History of Rome (iii. 91-2 Eng. Trans.):—

'The letters to Brutus refer to the same period (i.e. the last of Cicero's life). They consist of two parts: an earlier one, which is found in the same manuscripts as the letters of Cicero to his brother Quintus; and a later one, which was first published in the *editio Cratandrina*, and was, I believe, discovered in Germany. Whether the letters contained in the second part were forged in the 16th century, or are ancient and genuine, is a question which I cannot answer. If they are a forgery, it is a masterly one. The genuineness even of the first part, which has come down to us in very ancient manuscripts, is likewise very doubtful. They are of great interest to those who have Cicero's history at heart. They were unquestionably written at a very early period, and belong probably to the first century of our era. I am almost inclined to consider them as a production of the first century, perhaps of the time of Augustus or Tiberius. Their author was evidently a man of talent, and perfectly familiar with the circumstances of the period to which they relate. The question respecting their genuineness was raised about a hundred years ago by English critics, and I know that F. A. Wolf was decidedly of opinion that they are a fabrication, but I cannot express myself with the same certainty. I should like to see them proved to be spurious, as I am morally convinced that they are; but there are some serious considerations opposed

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but the wheel was in course of revolution. In 1844 K. F. Hermann published *Vindiciae Latinitatis epistularum Ciceronis ad Brutum et Bruti ad Ciceronem*, in which the Latinity of the letters is defended. Next year appeared two long disquisitions by the same author, *Zur Rechtfertigung der Aechtheit des erhaltenen Wechsels zwischen Cicero und M. Brutus*, in which the supposed mistakes in history are examined, and it is shown, as Niebuhr had, that the author was a man intimately versed in the history of the times. Zumpt* at once replied, and the same year K. F. Hermann answered him in *Vindiciarum Brutinarum epimetrum*. The masterly works of Hermann have altered the whole state of the question. They are, perhaps, not altogether satisfactory. The chronology of the letters of Fam. x., xi., xii. had not been fully settled in his time; but he showed that more cogent arguments than had previously been advanced must in future be adduced to maintain the spuriousness of the correspondence was to be maintained. For the next thirty years the question seems to have excited little interest. Nipperdey and Teuffel seemed to consider that the correspondence, except i. 16, 17, was genuine; but the editors.

the greater number of the letters to and from Brutus. Cobet, in *Mnemosyne*, vii. (1879), 262-297, defended the correspondence with the greatest vigour. In 1881 followed the most methodical and elaborate attack ever made on these Epistles in a somewhat diffuse but very painstaking work by Paul Meyer of Zurich* and F. Becher in the *Rheinisches Museum* (1882), pages 576-597,† impugned their genuineness on the score of language. These treatises drew forth, in 1883, an exceedingly powerful and concise historical dissertation from Edmond Ruete of Strasbourg, *Die Correspondenz Cicero in den Jahren 44 und 43*, and an elaborate and masterly treatise from L. Gurlitt, *Die Briefe Cicero's ad M. Brutus auf ihre Echtheit geprüft*, *Philologus Suppl.* iv. (1883), 551-630. Since then practically no stand has been made by the attacking party. Meyer, in a review of Gurlitt's work in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1884), like a true scholar, retired from an indefensible position, and allowed that the question as to the Brutus letters must now be only how much is genuine and how much spurious (page 424).§ O. E. Schmidt and Gurlitt have made many and various studies of great value in this portion

* Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cicero ad Brutum.

† Previously Becher wrote a somewhat superficial Dissertation 'De Ciceronis quæ feruntur ad Brutum Epistulis,' Harburg, 1876; but later he published an elaborate article in *Philologus* (1885), pp. 471-501, 'Die sprachliche Eigenart der Briefe ad Brutum,' of which, as well as of his article in *Rh. Mus.*, we have had frequent occasion to make use. We do not know what Becher's present opinion is as regards the question, whether he has effected a compromise or is still, 'like Horatius' (as Gurlitt *Jahrb.* 1884, p. 856, says) 'keeping the bridge alone.'

‡ In the same year Karl Schirmer published a valuable programme, *Ueber die Sprache des M. Brutus*, Metz, 1884.

§ In 1895 an attack was made on the authenticity of the correspondence by an Italian scholar, Vincenzo d'Addozio (*De M. Bruti vita et studiis doctrinae*, Naples, 1895). His views have been refuted with great thoroughness by Dr. Emil Schelle ('Der neuste Angriff auf die Echtheit der Briefe ad M. Brutum,' *Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Annenschule*, 1896-7, Dresden), who has done such good service to history in fixing the exact date of the Battle of Mutina (see p. xliii†). Schelle, we are glad to say, upholds the genuineness of i. 16, 17 (864, 865): but we cannot assent to his numerous additions, consisting of multiples of 16 letters (which he considers to have been the length of a line in the archetype): most of these additions appear quite unnecessary. His emendation of the corrupt passage, i. 15, 3 (914), *Quod si ita est utriusque rei meum iudicium studeo tibi esse notissimum neque s o l o s c o u m < p u t < o >*. *Solonis dictum u s u r p a r e* (uss. *usurpen*), though very bold, is undoubtedly brilliant.

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the correspondence, and have defended all with the exception of 16, 17, and perhaps i. 15, §§ 3-11. The contributions which scholars have rendered to the better understanding of Cicero's Epistles cannot be too highly praised, and their energy will be active.*

What is called the First Book of the Epistles to Brutus is found in most of the mss. which contain the Epp. ad Q. Fr. and Att.† It is really the Ninth Book of the correspondence of Cicero and Brutus as the quotation from Nonius (421. 31) shows. The Book which is generally called the Second Book has no extant manuscript authority. 'Cratander, on Brut. ii. 1, says:—*Hanc et sequentes epistolas ad Brutum quod a Ciceroniana dictione abhorrere videbantur et in vetusto codice primum locum obtinent nos quaquam praetermittendas existimavimus.*' An interesting fact that Cratander was telling the truth has been found by O. E. Schmidt (*Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung*, &c., p. 49) in a catalogue of the Library of the Visconti at Pavia. No. 610 runs—'Tullii Epistole ad Aticum coperte corio rubeo albicato. Incipiunt quam contemplationem et finiuntur atque etiam rogo.'

last few words of the book remained on a new page; and some very conscientious copyist copied out the fragmentary words instead of beginning at the next full letter.

For what is called Book ii. stood before Book i., and both together formed Book ix. of Cicero ad Brutum. Thus joined they make what is the normal complement of a book. Gurlitt considers (Jahrb. 1885, p. 564) that about the fourth or fifth century the separate books of Cicero's correspondence, till then in rolls, were formed into volumes of four books each. The first eight books of Cicero ad Brutum are wholly lost: and the ninth was joined to the three books ad Quintum fratrem to make up a volume of four books.* That the ninth book consists of both ii. and i. is incidentally proved by the fact that i. 1, with which M begins, has no statement of what book it belongs to nor any coloured initial letter, but there are some leaves at the beginning which are not filled†.

There was considerable disorder and loss in the archetype of the Brutus epistles, just as there was in the Epp. ad Q. Fr. (see vol. II.). The nature of the disorder and loss is set forth in the notes to 839, 3; 843, introd.; 857, 3; cp. 840, 3; 865, 7. But it is to be carefully noticed, as Gurlitt has pointed out, that all the disorder in the Brutus letters is merely mechanical, *i. e.* disarrangement or loss of whole pages. The order of the letters of ii. and part of i., as they appeared in the archetype, is thus given by O. E. Schmidt (Jahrb., 1890, p. 115), who is virtually in agreement with Gurlitt.

Fol. 1 ii. 1 *Cum haec* to § 3 *forte converterit*.

„ 2 ii. 1 § 3 *maiores autem* to end. 2. *Planci animum* to *in republica sed est quo***

„ 3 (Lost: contained the end of 2).

„ 4 ii. 3 *Litteras tuas* to § 5 *hoc magis doleo Asiam*.

„ 5 ii. 3 § 5 *nos amisisse quam* to the end. 4. *Datis mane* to end *mihi crede non erit. Pridie Id. April.*

„ 6 (Lost: contained the beginning of ii. 5) †

* Similarly, perhaps, the nine books to Hirtius and the three to Pansa (cp. Nonius 450. 2: 92. 18) formed three volumes.

† Gurlitt l. c., p. 567; Schmidt l. c., p. 5.

‡ This is Schmidt's arrangement of fol. 5 and 6. We do not think it necessary to assume this loss or to suppose that ii. consisted of six letters. See note to 840, 3.

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- 7 ii. 5 (= ii. 4 § 3) *at in Asiam censeo* to end *a te eum diligî*. 6. (= 5)
Quae litterae to nemini concedo.
- 8 ii. 6 (= ii. 5, Ep. 842) § 1 *sed nihil* to § 2 *mei, declarant.*
- 9 ii. 6 (= ii. 5) § 2 *quod si tuis* to § 5 *clementiae.*
- 10 ii. 6 (= ii. 5) § 2 *nunc quid* to end. i. 1. *L. Clodius* to *iudicatum.*
- 11 i. 1 § 1 *multa eius* to end. 2. 1 (Ep. 874) *Scripta et obsignata* to § 2 *quam tua***
- 12 (Lost: contained conclusion of 874 and beginning of 843).
- 13 i. 2 § 3 (843) *Te benevolentiam* to end. 3. *Nostrae res* to § 2 *civitas tota.*
- 14 i. 3 § 2 (844) *ad te se* to *v. Kal. Maias*.†
- 15 (Lost: contained a letter in which Cicero informed Brutus of the victory at Mutina immediately after the news had arrived, but before it was known that both the consuls had died; ep. 857, 1.)††
- 16 i. 4 § 1 (857) *Quanta sim* to § 3 *cum me docueris*.**
- 17 (Lost: contained end of 857 and beginning of 866).
- 18 i. 4 § 3 (866) *Nunc, Cicero* to § 6 *mihi rempublicam.*
- 19 i. 4 § 6 *iustam et iam* to end. 5. § 1 *A. d. v. Kal. Maias* to § 3 *posse haberi.*

The rest of the book runs on without the loss or disorder of sheets.

As we have written a commentary on the letters it is not necessary here to go into the various historical and linguistic points which have been raised in the course of the discussion. We have tried to examine them all with the help of the distinguished scholars who have done so much for this portion of the correspondence, especially Gurlitt, Ruete, and O. E. Schmidt.

character and the general tone of his correspondence would certainly incline us to consider them the works of Brutus and not school exercises. We can hardly think that in a school exercise Brutus would be represented as writing in such a rude manner as he does to Atticus in 867, 3. A later writer would, we think, have indulged in many more rhetorical flourishes and written in a smoother style; and he would have represented Brutus as very much better or very much worse than he appears in the letter which we now possess.



PART X.

EGO CERTE REI PUBLICAE NON DEERO.



PART X.

LETTERS FROM THE RETURN OF CICERO TO ROME TO RESIST
ANTONY TO THE BATTLE OF MUTINA.

EPP. DCCLXXXVII.-DCCCXLIV.

A. U. C.	710, 711
B. C.	44, 43
AET. CIC.	62, 63



CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

DCCLXXXVII. CICERO TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (FAM. X. 1).

ROME ; SEPTEMBER (BEGINNING) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

Invehitur Cicero in M. Antonii nimiam potentiam et L. Planco, Galliae Transalpinæ praesidi, rem publicam commendat : de Furnio benigne suscepto gratias agit.

CICERO PLANCO.

1. Et afui proficiscens in Graeciam, et postea quam de medio cursu rei publicae sum voce revocatus, numquam per M. Antonium

For an account of Plancus, see Introduction. He was at this time governor of Gallia Comata, i.e. Transalpine Gaul with the exception of the Provincia. Hirtius had administered the whole of Transalpine Gaul in 709 (45) ; in the April of that year Cicero received from him a letter, cp. Att. xii. 37, 4 (580), from Narbo, the capital of the undivided province. In 710 (44) Caesar divided that large district into two provinces, Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Comata ; and he assigned the government of the former to Lepidus, and that of the latter to Plancus. Between the departure of Hirtius and the arrival of Plancus, Gallia Comata was administered by Aurelius, the quaestor of Hirtius : cp. Att. xiv. 9, 3 (712).

On Fam. x. M. Gitlbauer has written two articles, in the Wiener Studien, i. 75-97, 246-268, which contain suggestions that are occasionally of some value.

1. *medio*] So Manutius and all editors for *meo* : cp. Off. iii. 121, *ipse venissem Athenas . . . nisi me e medio cursu clara*

voce patria revocasset ; ad Brut. i. 16, 5 (914), in *medio Achaico cursu*.

rei p. . . voce] This personification of the State is found elsewhere in Cicero. In Cat. i. 27-29, he introduces the State, addressing him in a long speech, and then continues *his ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus . . . pauca respondebo*.

numquam] Cicero uses this word, as constant reports reached him during his journey to Rome that an attack was meditated on his person (Plut. Cic. 43) ; and after the delivery of the First Philippic Antony had repeatedly uttered threats of violence against Cicero. Nake thinks that *numquam* compels us to fix the date of this letter after the meeting on the 19th. But if so, it is strange that Cicero makes no reference to his having been unable to support the claim of Plancus to the *supplicatio* : see note to Fam. x. 2, 1 (788). We should rather suppose that this letter was written shortly after Cicero's return to Rome, in answer to a letter brought from Plancus, not by Furnius, but by some other messenger.

DCCLXXXVII. (FAM. X. 1).

tus fui, cuius tanta est, non insolentia—nam id quidem
are vitium est—, sed immanitas, non modo ut vocem, sed ne
um quidem liberum possit ferre cuiusquam. Itaque mihi
imae curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satis feci vel
te vel factis vel, si quid etiam hoc ad rem pertinet, gloria, sed
patria sollicitat in primisque, mi Plance, expectatio consulatus
quae ita longa est, ut optandum sit ut possimus ad id tempus
publicae spiritum ducere. Quae potest enim spes esse in ea re
ica, in qua hominis impotentissimi atque intemperantissimi
is oppressa sunt omnia et in qua nec senatus nec populus vim
et ullam nec leges ullae sunt nec iudicia nec omnino simu-
um aliquod ac vestigium civitatis? 2. Sed quoniam acta
ia mitti ad te arbitrabar, nihil erat quod singulis de rebus
berem; illud autem erat amoris mei, quem a tua pueritia
eptum non servavi solum, sed etiam auxi, monere te atque
ari, ut in rem publicam omni cogitatione curaque incumberes.
e si ad tuum tempus perducitur, facilis gubernatio est; ut
ucatur autem, magnae cum diligentiae est tuaeque curae tum
n fortunae. 3. Sed et te aliquanto ante, ut spero, habebimus,
rosteranem quod rei publicae consulere debeamus, etiam tuos

dignitati ita favemus, ut omne nostrum consilium, studium, officium, operam, laborem, diligentiam ad amplitudinem tuam conferamus: ita facillime et rei publicae, quae mihi carissima est, et amicitiae nostrae, quam sanctissime nobis colendam puto, me intellego satis facturum. 4. Furnium nostri tanti a te fieri, quantum ipsius humanitas et dignitas postulat, nec miror et gaudeo teque hoc existimare volo, quicquid in eum iudicii officiique contuleris, id ita me accipere, ut in me ipsum te putem contulisse.

DCCLXXXVIII. CICERO TO THE SAME PLANCUS
(FAM. X. 2).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (SECOND HALF); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;
AET. CIC. 62.

Excusat M. Cicero quod in senatum ad agendam Planci causam non venerit: officia sua in aliis rebus pollicetur.

CICERO PLANCO SAL.

1. Meum studium honori tuo pro necessitudine nostra non defuisset, si aut tuto in senatum aut honeste venire potuissem;

interests of the state and those which advanced the dignity of Plancus. Wesenberg (E. A. 33) corrects to *etiam*, which is the regular word used with *præter*, or *præterquam*: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 32, 4; Liv. iv. 17, 6, and Weissenborn, ad loc. *ut omne . . . conferamus*] 'so as to devote all my thoughts and zeal, service and efforts, toil and watchfulness, to further your advancement.'

satis facturum] 'to do my duty towards.'

4. *Furnium*] a trusty legatus of Plancus, for whom he frequently carried messages to and from Rome: cp. note to Fam. x. 25 (880).

quicquid . . . contulisse] 'whatever good opinion or service you show him, I shall regard it as shown to myself.' For *iudicium*, in the sense of 'favourable judgment,' Nipperdey compares, besides this passage, Fam. xiii. 46 (921), *patroni iudicio ornatus*; Tac. Agr. 43; Ann. iv. 39; Plin. Epp. x. 4, 6 fin. Mendelssohn

adds Plancus ap. Fam. x. 23, 7 (895), and Zangemeister on C. I. L. iv. 1074. Accordingly, there is no need to read, with Pluygers and Lehmann (p. 28), *studii*, though, no doubt, the latter is the more usual word, and *conferre iudicium* is not found elsewhere.

This letter obviously lies between September 19th and the departure of Antony from Rome, October 9th. Ruete notices (p. 32) that Octavian's attempt to assassinate Antony occurred a few days before Antony left Rome (Nic. Dam. 30, p. 464), i.e. about October 5th; and as Cicero makes no mention of that occurrence, the latter date may perhaps be fixed as the inferior limit for the date of this epistle.

1. *honori*] Probably a *supplicatio*, which would confirm Plancus's title of emperor. That title was certainly recognized in December (Phil. iii. 38).

in senatum] Cicero is thinking of the meeting on September 19th, when Antony

DCCLXXXIX. (FAM. X. 3).

ec sine periculo quisquam libere de re publica sentiens versari
t in summa impunitate gladiatorum nec nostrae dignitatis
ur esse ibi sententiam de re publica dicere, ubi me et melius
ropius audiant armati quam senatores. 2. Quapropter in
tis rebus nullum neque officium neque studium meum deside-
; ne in publicis quidem, si quid erit, in quo me interesse
se sit, umquam deero, ne cum periculo quidem meo, dignitati
in iis autem rebus, quae nihilo minus, ut ego absim, confici
unt, peto a te ut me rationem habere velis et salutis et digni-
meae.

DCLXXXIX. CICERO TO THE SAME PLANCUS
(FAM. X. 3).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (LATTER HALF); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;
AET. CIC. 62.

ritus M. Cicero ne cum M. Antonio se L. Plancus coniungat, captat laudibus eius
in laetatione et non publicum tractat.

omni genere prudentiam mihi tuam exposuit et praeterea mihi non ignotam in consuetudine et familiaritate suavitatem tuam adiunxit, praeterea summam erga se liberalitatem: quae omnia mihi iucunda, hoc extremum etiam gratum fuit. 2. Ego, Plance, necessitudinem constitutam habui cum domo vestra ante aliquanto quam tu natus es, amorem autem erga te ab ineunte pueritia tua, confirmata iam aetate familiaritatem cum studio meo, tum iudicio tuo constitutam: his de causis mirabiliter faveo dignitati tuae quam mihi tecum statuo debere esse communem. Omnia summa consecutus es, virtute duce, comite fortuna, eaque es adeptus adolescens multis invidentibus, quos ingenio industriaeque fregisti. Nunc me amantissimum tui, nemini concedentem, qui tibi vetustate necessitudinis potior possit esse, si audies, omnem tibi reliquae vitae dignitatem ex optimo rei publicae statu acquires. 3. Scis profecto—nihil enim te fugere potuit—fuisse quoddam tempus, cum homines existimarent te nimis servire temporibus, quod ego quoque existimarem, te si ea, quae patiebare, probare etiam arbitrarer; sed cum intellegerem, quid sentire, te arbitraber videre, *pruden*

et praeterea] 'and further, your charm of manner, which I know so well in our familiar intercourse: he added further, that you have shown the greatest generosity to himself. At all these kindnesses I feel pleasure, and for this latter circumstance even gratitude.' Cicero often marks the distinction between *iucundum*, what is merely pleasant, and yet may be injurious, and *gratum*, that for which one is thankful, what is good in the fullest sense: cp. Att. iii. 24, 2 (85), *ita veritas, etiamsi iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est*; Fam. v. 15, 1 (587), *amor tuus gratus et optatus: dicerem iucundus, nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem*; Fam. iv. 6, 1 (574); Att. i. 17, 6 (23). It is a little careless of Cicero to have repeated *praeterea* so soon, and also to have used *constitutam* twice in the next sentence: cp. § 3, *arbitrarer* and *arbitraber*. Gitlbauer (p. 77) wishes to read *et postea mihi non ignotam*.

2. *confirmata iam aetate*] cp. Thucyd. ii. 36, *ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ*; Shakespeare, *Richard III.*, iv. 4, 169–171:—
Thy school-days frightful, desperate, wild, and furious,
Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous,
Thy age confirm ed, proud, subtle, bloody, treacherous.

familiaritatem] 'a close intimacy set on foot, from inclination on my part, from judgment on yours.'

mirabiliter . . . communem] 'I am marvellously devoted to your advancement, which I consider I ought to share with you.' We read *debere esse*, with Vict., for *habere esse* of M: see Adn. Crit. Gitlbauer (p. 78) omits *esse*, taking *mihi* with *statuo*.

nemini concedentem qui . . . possit] Note the force of the subjunctive *possit*, 'yielding to no one in his claim to stand first with you in the rights of old friendship.' For *concedere* cp. note to Fam. iv. 3, 1 (494).

ex optimo rei p. statu] 'by the establishment of the aristocratic government.'

3. *te nimis servire temporibus*] 'that you were too much a time-server,' i.e. during Caesar's domination Plancus himself admits that his reputation did not stand high: cp. Fam. x. 4, 2 (808), *ut praeter bonam famam nihil desiderare videntur*.

sed cum . . . posses] 'but when I came to understand your sentiments, I considered that you formed a just estimate of your powers,' i.e. that you reflected how little power you had, and how futile any course would be, except to acquiesce in

DCCXC. (FAM. XII. 2).

posses. Nunc alia ratio est : omnium rerum tuum iudicium
que liberum. Consul es designatus, optima aetate, summa
entia, *in* maxima orbitate rei publicae virorum talium :
nebe, per deos immortales ! in eam curam et cogitationem,
tibi summam dignitatem et gloriam adferat. Unus autem
hoc praesertim tempore, per tot annos re publica devexata, rei
cae bene gerendae cursus ad gloriam. 4. Haec amore magis
sus scribenda ad te putavi, quam quo te arbitrarer monitis et
ceptis egere ; sciebam enim ex isdem te haec haurire fontibus,
quibus ipse hauseram : qua re modum faciam. Nunc tantum
ficandum putavi, ut potius amorem tibi ostenderem meum,
quam ostentarem prudentiam. Interea, quae ad dignitatem tuam
conferere arbitror, studiose diligenterque curabo.

DCCXC. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 2).

ME ; SEPTEMBER (END) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

rem publicam recipere. Sed homo amens et perditus multoque nequior quam ille ipse, quem tu nequissimum occisum esse dixisti, caedis initium quaerit, nullamque aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur: quod ego periculum non extimesco; modo vestri facti gloriam cum mea laude communicet. Ita nec Pisoni, qui in eum primus invecutus est nullo adsentiente, nec mihi, qui idem tricenisimo post die feci, nec P. Servilio, qui me est consecutus, tuto in senatum venire licet: caedem enim gladiator quaerit eiusque initium a. d. XIII. Kal. Octobr. a me se facturum putavit, ad quem paratus venerat, cum in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset. Quae autem in lustris et in vino commentatio potuit esse? Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more,

pression of opinion,' not in the technical sense of 'motion.' The First Philippic did not, like many of the subsequent ones, conclude with a formal motion.

nihil esset negotii] 'there would be no trouble.'

quem tu nequissimum . . . dixisti] This may be translated either 'who, you said, was the most profligate man who was ever slain,' or 'who, you say, was slain for his utter profligacy.' The former is probably the sense in which Cicero meant the words to be taken. The reference is of course to Caesar.

caedis initium quaerit] 'means to start a massacre.'

veterani] Appian, B. C. iii. 4, says that after the execution of the false Marius (which took place in the first half of April) the senate, under the impression that Antony was exposed to danger at the hands of the democrats, allowed him to raise a body-guard of veterans. This is probably an invention of Appian's, as we do not hear of Antony's having such a force before his journey through Italy, during the latter half of April and May, when he raised a praetorian cohort of veterans, which he afterwards increased to 6000: cp. App. l. c. Cic. Phil. ii. 100 ff. and Mayor's Introd. § 41.

cum mea laude communicet] 'associate with my exploits.'

Ita] This word goes closely with the next sentence, *caedis enim*, 'and so you see Piso and the rest of us cannot attend the senate, for this gladiator is looking for a pretext to murder us.'

Pisoni] L. Calpurnius Piso, father-in-law of Caesar.

tricenisimo post die] 'a month after.' Piso spoke on August 1st; Cicero and Servilius on September 2nd. P. Servilius had been consul in 706 (48).

qui me est consecutus] 'who adopted my views.'

ad quem] *sc. diem*, 'on which day': cp. Att. xiv. 14, 6 (719), *existimo ad Kal. Iunias statuere posse ad quas adero*.

Metelli] Metellus Scipio was father-in-law of Pompey. He drowned himself after the battle of Thapsus. His villa was at Tibur, and had been seized by Antony: cp. Phil. ii. 42; 109; v. 19; Att. xvi. 11, 2 (799), *eodem iure quo Rubriana potius quam quo Scipionis*.

complures dies] seventeen, from October 2nd to 19th.

commentatus esset] 'he had studied his speech.'

ut ad te antea scripsi] This does not necessarily refer to a previous letter written by Cicero to Cassius about Antony's speech on the 19th, as Schmidt (Cass. 22) supposes. The present letter appears to have been the first which Cicero wrote to him on that subject. The criticism of Cicero was a general one on Antony's customary style of speaking.

vomere . . . dicere] 'in his usual style to be, not discussing, but disgorging': cp. Phil. v. 20, *in me absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomuit*. For this odious charge cp. Phil. ii. 63, 76, 84, 104.

DCCXC. (FAM. XII. 2).

licere. 2. Qua re, quod scribis te confidere auctoritate et
entia nostra aliquid profici posse, non nihil, ut in tantis
est profectum: intellegit enim populus Romanus tres esse
aris, qui, quia de re publica bene senserint, libere locuti
uto in senatum venire non possint. Nec est praeterea quod
am exspectes; tuus enim necessarius adfinitate nova delec-
itaque iam non est studiosus ludorum infinitoque fratris
ausu dirumpitur. Alter item adfinis novis commentariis
is delenitus est. Sed haec tolerabilia: illud non ferendum,
est, qui vestro anno filium consulem futurum putet ob

es] Piso, Servilius, Cicero.
... possint] an asyndeton, though
re only two clauses. Lehmann
quotes, among others, Att. vii. 4,
cum ille vesperi venisset, Balbus
re constituisset: cp. also Böckel.
cr adds quae after quia. Lehmann
suggests qui quia de republica
senserint <quaeque senserint> libere
int, comparing Fam. iv. 14, 1
dignitas est bene de re p. sentire et
is probare quod sentias: also Fam.
(585); Tusc. i. 6. But there is

cessity to suppose that he could not have
been greeted with applause unless he was
the giver of the games; mere spectators
often received that mark of popular
favour: cp. Att. ii. 19, 3 (46). Certain
people appear to have been fond of cheer-
ing this L. Cassius (though he was a
partisan of Caesar), on account of his
relationship to the Liberator—a proceed-
ing which Cicero regarded with satisfac-
tion: cp. Att. xiv. 2, 1 (704), plausus vero
L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem
visus est, where see note.

eamque causam se huic latroni deservire prae se ferat. 3. Nam L. Cotta familiaris meus fatali quadam desperatione, ut ait, minus in senatum venit; L. Caesar, optimus et fortissimus civis, valetudine impeditur; Ser. Sulpicius et summa auctoritate et optime sentiens non adest. Reliquos exceptis designatis ignosce mihi si non numero consulares. Habes auctores consilii publici: qui numerus etiam bonis rebus exiguus esset, quid censes perditis? Qua re spes est omnis in vobis, qui si idcirco abestis, ut sitis in tuto, ne in vobis quidem: sin aliquid dignum vestra gloria cogitatis, velim salvis nobis; sin id minus, res tamen publica per vos brevi tempore ius suum reciperebit. Ego tuis neque desum neque deero: qui si quae ad me referent, mea tibi tamen benevolentia fidesque praestabitur. Vale.

elapse between the holding of successive offices: cp. Mommsen, St. R. i². 546, note 3.

deservire prae se ferat] 'exhibits his subservience to.'

3. *Nam*] ('you need not ask me about anyone else), for.'—(Watson).

L. Cotta] consul in 689 (65).

fatali . . . venit] 'hardly ever (lit. 'less than before') comes into the senate: Fate, he says, forbids hope.' For *fatalis* Andr. compares Fam. xv. 15, 2 (448), *quasi quodam fatali proelio*, and xii. 13, 1 (901).

L. Caesar] After the death of Julius, Lucius Caesar tried to mediate between the senate and Antony. He was proscribed by the triumvirs, and narrowly escaped death: cp. Phil. viii. 1; xii. 18; Appian, B. C. iv. 12, 37.—(Watson).

Sulpicius] He appears to have left Rome in May: cp. Att. xiv. 18, 3 (726); xv. 7 (739).

designatis] Hirtius and Pansa.

si non numero consulares] 'if I do not reckon to be men of consular dignity.'—(Watson).

Habes . . . publici] 'Here you have all the leaders of the national policy.'—

(Jeans).

ne in vobis quidem] *sc. spes est*. 'If you are going to think of your own safety, there is no hope for us, even in you.'

velim salvis nobis] 'I hope I may live to see it': cp. Att. x. 8, 8 (392), *id spero vivis nobis fore*; Phil. ii. 113.

ius suum reciperebit] cp. Att. xv. 13, 4 (794), *videtur res publica ius suum reciperebitura*.

si quae ad me referent, mea tibi] So H Pal, who also omits *tamen*. M has *sive ad me referent mea tamen in*, and the editors add *sive non referent* before *mea*. But the reading of H Pal gives excellent sense, and saves us from having to make this addition. Rühl (Rh. Mus. xxx. 29) considers this passage most important, and believes that H gives the correct reading if we change *quae* into *quidem*. It is quite true that *referre* in this sense generally is used without a direct accusative, e.g. Fam. iii. 12, 2 (275), *ut . . . ad me ne referrent*: Att. vii. 16, 3 (313), *De Terentia et Tullia tibi adsentior . . . ad te ut referrent*; but neuter pronouns are so frequently used with verbs which do not take any other object that we hesitate to make even the slight change of *quae* to *quidem*.

DCCXCI. (FAM. XII. 3).

DCCXCI. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 3).

ME; EARLY IN OCTOBER; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero de condicione rei p. queritur et in M. Antonium eiusque socios invehitur.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Auget tuus amicus furorem in dies: primum in statua, n posuit in rostris, inscripsit PARENTI OPTIME MERITO, ut modo sicarii, sed iam etiam parricidae iudicemini, quid dico, semini? iudicemur potius; vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille sus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset! estus nobis non esset. Sed hoc vestrum est; quod quoniam teriit, utinam haberem quid vobis darem consilii! Sed ne mihi em ipsi reperio quid faciundum sit. Quid enim est, quod ra vim sine vi fieri possit? 2. Consilium omne autem hoc est um, ut mortem Caesaris persequantur; itaque ante diem vi.

quidem discessit, sed tamen ea dixit de conservatoribus patriae, quae dici deberent de proditoribus; de me quidem non dubitanter, quin omnia de meo consilio et vos fecissetis et Cannutius faceret. Cetera cuius modi sint, ex hoc iudica, quod legato tuo viaticum eripuerunt: quid eos interpretari putas, cum hoc faciunt? ad hostem scilicet portari. O rem miseram! dominum ferre non potuimus; conservo servimus. Et tamen, me quidem favente magis quam sperante, etiam nunc residet spes in virtute tua. Sed ubi sunt copiae? De reliquo malo te ipsum tecum loqui quam nostra dicta cognoscere. Vale.

DCCXCII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 23).

ROME; MIDDLE OF OCTOBER; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero respondet ad ea quae Tratorius nuntiarat de provincia Cornificii: dein rei p. formam describit, philosophiam laudat.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Omnem condicionem imperii tui statumque provinciae mihi demonstravit Tratorius. O multa intolerabilia locis omnibus!

however hostile he might appear to be to Octavian, he would do his best to avenge the murder of Caesar: cp. Fam. xii. 23, 3 (792). Cobet (Mnem. vii. 1879, p. 136) suggests a *fratre Lucio* for *Cannutius*, but is not decided on the point.

turpissime . . . discessit] 'though he came off most disgracefully (though his scandalous speech had no particular effect, and was warmly resented by many), yet he referred to the Liberators in terms which were applicable only to traitors.'

de meo consilio] For Antony's object, cp. xii. 2, 1 (790), *ut in me veterani incitentur*.

legato] As proconsul of Syria Cassius had *legati*.

viaticum] 'travelling money': cp. Liv. xlv. 22, 13. While the *legatus* was actually present in the suite of the governor his allowance was called *cibaria*.

quid . . . portari] 'What reason do you think they gave when doing this? Of course that the money is being carried to an enemy of the state.'

conservo] Antony, who was the slave of Caesar, like the rest of the Romans.

Et tamen . . . cognoscere] 'and though I have better wishes than hopes, yet even now there does remain a hope in your valour. But where are the forces? As to what remains I should prefer that you questioned your own heart rather than that you listened to my words.' What Cicero means by *reliquum* appears to be the employment of the forces of Cassius against Antony, for the recovery of freedom at Rome. For *tecum loqui*, cp. what he says to Curio, Fam. ii. 7, 2 (127), *tecum loquere, te adhibe in consilium, te audi, tibi obtempera*.

Cornificius had been governing Africa since the beginning of the year, having succeeded C. Calvisius Sabinus. Antony had recently sent out Calvisius again to supersede him, but Calvisius was not able to dislodge him. For the life of Cornificius see note to Fam. xii. 17 (493). The date is approximately fixed by § 2, *a. d. vii. Id. Oct.*

1. *Tratorius*] a friend, perhaps a legate, of Cornificius: cp. Fam. xii. 30, 5 (899). He probably stood in the same

DCCXCII. (FAM. XII. 23).

Id quo tua maior dignitas, eo, quae tibi acciderunt, minus
 lenda; neque enim, quae tu propter magnitudinem et animi et
 genii moderate fers, a te non ulciscenda sunt, etiam si non sunt
 lenda. Sed haec posterius. 2. Rerum urbanarum acta tibi
 tti certo scio; quod ni ita putarem, ipse perscriberem, in pri-
 sque Caesaris Octaviani conatum; de quo multitudini fictum ab
 Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum
 eret; prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et pro-
 nt. Quid quaeris? Magna spes est in eo: nihil est, quod non
 istimetur laudis et gloriae causa facturum. Antonius autem,
 ster familiaris, tanto se odio esse intellegit, ut, cum interfectores
 os domi comprehenderit, rem proferre non audeat. A. d. vii. Id.
 t. Brundisium erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedonicis
 attuor, quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat easque ad urbem

tion to Cornificius that Furnius did to
 ncus: cp. Fam. x. 3, 1 (789).

neque enim . . . dolenda] 'for those
 ons at which you are not ruffled, owing
 the great spirit and mind you possess,
 must not allow to pass with impunity,
 though they cause you no annoy-

deed, Phil. iii. 19, *quorum consiliorum
 Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse
 et fuisse fateor*. Appian (l. c.) says that
 the wiser part of the community saw how
 much it was to the advantage of Octavian
 that Antony should live, so as to keep the
 tyrannicides in check; but the mass of

adducere et in cervicibus nostris conlocare. 3. Habes formam rei publicae, si in castris potest esse res publica; in quo tuam vicem saepe doleo, quod nullam partem per aetatem sanae et salvae rei publicae gustare potuisti. Atque antehac quidem sperare saltem licebat; nunc etiam id ereptum est: quae enim est spes, cum in contione dicere ausus sit Antonius Cannutium apud eos locum sibi quaerere, quibus se salvo locus in civitate esse non posset? 4. Equidem et haec et omnia, quae homini accidere possunt, sic fero, ut philosophiae magnam habeam gratiam, quae me non modo ab sollicitudine abducit, sed etiam contra omnes fortunae impetus armat, tibiue idem censeo faciundum nec, a quo culpa absit, quicquam in malis numerandum. Sed haec tu melius. Tratorium nostrum cum semper probassem, tum maxime in tuis rebus summam eius fidem, diligentiam prudentiamque cognovi. Da operam, ut valeas; hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

use is not confined to the nominative: compare Madv. on Fin. i. 42.

in cervicibus conlocare] cp. for the opposite Phil. iii. 8, *a cervicibus nostris est depulsus Antonius*; Mil. 77. The sing. *cervix* is not found in prose before Livy.

3. *tuam vicem*] cp. Phil. x. 6. It is very common with *dolere*. Andr. compares Fam. iv. 5, 2 (555); Att. iv. 6, 1 (110); vi. 3, 4 (264); viii. 2, 2 (332); 15, 3 (350).

per aetatem] Cornificius did not hold the quaestorship, which was the first step in the career of office, until 706 (48): cp. Bell. Alex. 42, 2.

Cannutium] cp. note to Fam. xii. 3, 2 (791).

apud eos] sc. the Liberators.

posset] Note the subjunctive of virtually oblique narration, 'for whom, if he lives (as he said), there cannot remain a place in the state.' What Antony actually said was *quibus me salvo locus in civitate esse non poterit*.

4. *philosophiae*] There is no doubt at all that Cicero and the higher minds at Rome did derive great consolation from philosophy. Dr. Reid says, Acad. ii. 65, 'to a large portion of the educated classes of the time philosophy was as real a thing as religion is to the same classes now, and they lived by it just as much.' That is true; but we must also remember that a considerable section of those Romans who studied philosophy did not do so to find a rule of life. Cicero says of Cato (Mur. 62), *Haec* (sc. the Stoical dogmas) *homo ingeniosissimus, M. Cato, auctoribus eruditissimis inductus arripuit, neque disputandi causa, ut magna pars, sed ita vivendi*.

a quo] The antecedent is probably *quicquam*. For *culpa* applied to a neuter pronoun cp. Fam. xii. 22, 2 (813), *et quicquid acciderit, a quo mea culpa absit, animo forti feram*.

Sed haec tu melius] sc. *scis*. For the ellipse, cp. Att. xiii. 7, 1 (619); Fam. iv. 13, 7 (483); ix. 2, 5 (461).

DCCXCIII. (FAM. XVI. 25).

DCCXCIII. CICERO JUNIOR TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 25).

ATHENS; SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero filius litteras a Tirone quam creberrimas requirit.

CICERO F. TIRONI SUO SAL.

Etsi iusta et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis litterarum tuarum, tamen id ne saepius facias rogo; nam, etsi de re publica rumoribus et nuntiis certior fio et de sua in me voluntate semper ad me perscribit pater, tamen de quavis minima re scripta et ad me epistola semper fuit gratissima. Qua re cum in primis eas desiderem litteras, noli committere, ut excusatione potius ex-
eas officium scribendi quam adsiduitate epistolarum. Vale.

cogamus, faveamus tamen. Orationem tibi misi. Eius ostodindae et proferendae arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum diem, cum tu edendam putes? 2. Inducias, quas scribis, non intellego fieri posse. Melior est ἀναντιφώνησις, qua me usurum arbitror. Quod scribis legiones duas Brundisium venisse, vos omnia prius. Scribes igitur quidquid audieris. 3. Varronis διάλογον exspecto. Iam probo Ἡρακλείδειον, praesertim cum tu tanto opere delectere, sed quale velis velim scire. Quod ad te antea atque adeo 'prius' scripsi—sic enim mavis—, ad scribendum, licet enim tibi vere dicere, feoisti me acriorem. Ad tuum enim iudicium, quod mihi erat notum, addidisti Peducaei auctoritatem, magnam quidem apud me et in primis gravem: enitar igitur ne desideres aut industriam meam aut diligentiam. Vettienum, ut scribis, et Faberium foveo. Clodium nihil arbitror malitiose, quamquam. . . . Sed quod egerit. De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi adsentior. Itane Gallo Caninio? O hominem nequam! quid enim dicam aliud? Cautum Marcellum! me sic, sed non tamen cautissimum! 4. Longiori

Orationem] The second Philippic.
quando illum diem] sc. *videbo*. For the ellipse, cp. Att. xv. 20, 3 (752), *Quando enim illum?* Also xvi. 5, 4 (770); xiii. 40, 1 (660).

2. *Inducias*] a truce with Antony. His Phil. ii. was known only to a few of Cicero's private friends, so that ἀναντιφώνησις refers only to his suppression of a public reply to Antony.

Brundisium venisse] from Macedonia. Antony had set out on October 9 to meet these legions, and endeavour to secure their hearty co-operation with his schemes.

vos omnia prius] sc. *audire soletis*: cp. Att. xiii. 3, 5 (294), *Vos scilicet plura, qui in urbe estis.*

3. *Varronis διάλογον*] He calls this Ἡρακλείδειον in 799 and 800. For Ἡρακλείδειον, see on Att. xv. 4, 3 (734). Cicero was interested in this work of Atticus, as he was himself engaged on a treatise which he designates by the same name, no doubt a political brochure.

antea atque adeo 'prius'] 'or rather.' *Prius* was preferred by Atticus to *antea*. For *atque adeo* in this sense, see on Att. i. 17, 9 (23).

licet enim] These words are supplied by Lehmann.

acriorem] 'more keen to write.' For *acer ad* cp. Cluent. 67. The alteration of Lambinus, *alacriorem*, is tempting: cp. Att. xvi. 3, 1 (773), *auges mihi scribendi alacritatem.*

foveo] 'am coaxing.' This word is sometimes used of humouring a debtor so that he may not prove a defaulter. O. E. Schmidt (Faberius, p. 244) quotes Seneca, Benef. vii. 29, *Quaedam nomina bona lentius ac sapiens creditor fecit qui sustinuit et mora fovit. Idem nobis fuciendum est; nutriamus fidem languidam.*

Clodium] Probably the Clodius referred to in Att. xiv. 13 a and b (716, 717), where see notes.

quod egerit] 'it is nothing to me.' See Lehmann's important remarks on this phrase, quoted above on Fam. xvi. 23, 1 (754).

Itane Gallo Caninio] Some words like *minitatur Antonius* are to be supplied, as may be inferred from Phil. ii. 77. *O hominem nequam* refers to Antony.

sic] 'cautious, but not over-cautious.' We can hardly believe that *sic* means 'so-so,' i.e. tolerably cautious, though this usage may perhaps be found in Ter. Heaut. iii. 1, 49.

DCCXCIV. (ATT. XV. 13).

olae superiorique respondi. Nunc breviori propiorique quid
ondeam nisi eam fuisse dulcissimam? Res Hispanienses valde
e. Modo Balbiliū incolumem videam, subsidium nostrae
ctutis. De Anniano idem, quod tu. Me valde observat
llia: sed haec quidem humana. De Bruto te nihil scire dicis,
Selicia venisse M. Scaptium, eumque †non qua pompa, ad se
en clam venturum sciturumque me omnia: quae ego statim.
rea narrat eadem Bassi servum venisse qui nuntiaret legiones
andrinās in armis esse, Bassum arcessi, Cassium exspectari.
quaeris? Videtur res publica ius suum recuperatura. Sed
quid ante. Nosti horum exercitationem in latrocinio et amen-

[*Res Hispanienses*] Sex. Pompeius carrying on the war against the Carthaginians in Spain. Balbilius was some one of Cicero's who was in the camp of Pompeius.

[*humana*] 'this is the way of the world.' Life has its sweets and its sorrows. We must suppose that in the *de Ann. idem quod tu* lurks a reference to something annoying, with which

adding *adsuevisset*; or to correct them by a complete modification of the text, as Boot does in suggesting *nunc ad Pompeium*; or to read *non magna pompa*, with Fr. Schmidt.

[*quae ego statim*] sc. *sciam an vera sint*.

[*Bassi*] Q. Caecilius Bassus, for whom see on Att. xiv. 9, 3 (712). He was a follower of Pompeius Magnus, and carried on the war in his interest in Syria. He

DCCXCV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 13 a).

PUTEOLI; OCTOBER 26-29; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Dolabella, de libris suis *De Officiis*, de itinere suo, de causa Myrtili, denique de oratione ad Atticum perferenda.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

5. Dolabella vir optimus est. Etsi, cum scribebam secunda mensa apposita, venisse eum ad Baias audiebam, tamen ad me ex Formiano scripsit, quas litteras, cum e balineo exissem, accepi, sese de attributione omnia summa fecisse: Vettienum accusat, tricatur scilicet, ut monetalis. Sed ait totum negotium Sestium nostrum suscepisse, optimum quidem illum virum nostrique amantissimum. Quaero autem quid tandem Sestius in hac re facere possit, quod non quivis nostrum? Sed, si quid praeter spem erit, facies ut sciam. Sin est, ut arbitror, negotium perditum, scribes tamen, neque ista res commovebit. 6. Nos hic φιλοσοφούμεν—quid enim aliud?—et τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος magnifice explicamus προσφωνούμενque Ciceroni. Qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quaeris? Exstabit opera peregrinationis huius. Varronem hodie aut cras venturum putabant. Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quo hoc loco quidquam pulcrius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti. Sed perscribe, quaeso, quae causa sit Myrtili—poenas quidem illum pendisse audi—

5. *optimus*] 'a fine fellow,' ironically, in reference to his slowness in paying his debts.

attributione] see on Att. xvi. 3, 5 (773).

omnia summa] a colloquial phrase: see Or. ii. 85. We might say 'his level best.'

monetalis] see on Att. x. 11, 5 (396); 'of course he has his dodges (for delaying payment), like a true business-man.'

commovebit] Boot would insert *me*, but the omission of the object of a transitive verb is a characteristic feature of the letters, as has been abundantly shown by

Lehmann, 16-18.

6. *Nos hic*] 'I am deep in my philosophy here, getting on splendidly with the *De Officiis*, which I am dedicating to my son: on what theme could a father more fitly address his son?'

Deinde alia] 'when it is finished I shall go on to some new work. In a word, there will be something to show for my period of absence from Rome.'

Myrtili] From Att. xvi. 11, 5 (799), we may gather that Myrtilus was a slave whom Antony suspected, or pretended to suspect, of a design to make an attempt on his life, suborned by D. Brutus.

et satisne pateat unde corruptus. 7. Haec cum scriberem, tantum quod existimabam ad te orationem esse perlatam. Hui, quam timeo quid existimes! Etsi quid ad me, quae non sit foras proditura nisi re publica recuperata? De quo quid sperem non audeo scribere.

DCCXCVI. DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 4).

GALLIA CISALPINA; OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER (BEGINNING);

A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

D. Brutus res a se gestas exponit et, ut Cicero sua se in supplicationibus decernendis sententia iuvet, rogat.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DESIG. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Si de tua in me voluntate dubitarem, multis a te verbis peterem, ut dignitatem meam tuerere, sed profecto est ita, ut mihi persuasi, me tibi esse curae. Progressus sum ad Inalpinos cum exercitu, non tam nomen imperatorium captans quam cupiens militibus satis facere firmosque eos ad tuendas nostras res efficere:

pateat] 'whether it has been clearly ascertained by whom he was suborned.' *Unde for a quo* is unusual, but would be impossible with the reading *corruptus*, 'accused.'

7. *tantum quod*] 'just as I am writing these words, I suppose the speech (Phil. ii.) is being delivered to you.' For *tantum quod* cp. note to Fam. vii. 23, 1 (126).

quid ad me] 'what matters it to me, considering it is not to see the light unless the republic recovers?' Lehmann shows clearly, p. 67, that the phrase is *quid ad me*, and that it would be a mistake to insert *id*.

D. Brutus, who had been nominated by Caesar to hold the consulship in 712 (42) with L. Plancus, left Rome shortly after the Ides of March for his province of Cisalpine Gaul. He there disciplined his soldiers, and gratified their greed for plunder by attacks on several Gallic tribes; and for success in some of these raids he was saluted as Imperator by his army. Perhaps this occurred on the occa-

sion of his victory over the intrepid Inalpini.

As to the date of the letter. Cicero left Rome for Puteoli some time between October 9th and October 20th; for he was at that place between the 25th and 28th: see Att. xv. 13 (794). He returned to Rome on December 9th, or (if we alter *Id.* to *Kal.* in Fam. xi. 5, 1 (809), as Ruete wishes to do) November 27th. Lupus arrived from D. Brutus some time during the absence of Cicero: cp. Fam. xi. 5, 1 (809). This letter was, accordingly, written during October, or in the beginning of November.

1. *dignitatem*] Brutus apparently wished to obtain a confirmation of his title of Imperator by a decree of the senate granting him a *supplicatio*.

Inalpinos] lived in the modern Piedmont and Savoy.

non tam . . . satis facere] 'not so much coveting the title of imperator as desiring to satisfy the soldiers,' as he would do by giving them ample opportunities for plundering.

2. Quod mihi videor consecutus; nam et liberalitatem nostram et animum sunt experti. Cum omnium bellicosissimis bellum gessi; multa castella cepi, multa vastavi: non sine causa ad senatum litteras misi. Adiuvā nos tua sententia; quod cum facies, ex magna parte communi commodo inservieris.

DCCXCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 8).

PUTEOLI; NOVEMBER 1 OR 2; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero scribit se ab Octaviano per litteras et per Caecinam ad se missum consultum quid ageret ei suasisse, ut Romam pergeret; ipse vult scire ab Attico quid sibi agendum esse existimet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum sciam quo die venturus sim, faciam ut scias. Impedimenta expectanda sunt, quae Anagnia veniunt, et familia aegra est. Kal. vesperi litterae mihi ab Octaviano. Magna molitur. Veteranos, quique Casilini et Calatiae sunt, perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum: quingenos denarios dat: cogitat reliquas colonias obire. Plane hoc spectat, ut se duce bellum geratur cum Antonio. Itaque video paucis diebus nos in armis fore. Quem autem sequamur? Vide nomen, vide aetatem. Atque a me postulat, primum ut clam colloquatur mecum vel Capuae. Puerile hoc quidem, si id putat clam fieri posse. Docui per litteras id nec opus esse nec fieri posse. 2. Misit ad me Caecinam quemdam Volaterranum, familiarem suum, qui haec pertulit: Antonium

liberalitatem] i.e. in the distribution of booty.

animum] It is hard to say whether this means 'courage,' or 'intention' (that is, intention to make them firmly attached to the support of his cause).

castella] 'villages.' Watson notices that this word is sometimes applied to unfortified positions: cp. Liv. xii. 11, 4, *quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent*.

facies] We should expect *feceris*; but perfect strictness of language is not to be expected from D. Brutus.

about three miles from Rome.

familia aegra est] 'there is sickness among my slaves.' *Familia* is 'establishment,' 'household,' not 'family,' though it often comes very near the latter meaning in the comic drama.

quique] This cannot be the right reading; probably *qui quidem*, as Boot suggests.

Quem] We should have expected *utrum*; but cp. a still stranger case of *quem* for *utrum* in Att. xvi. 14, 1 (806), *quem velis nescias*.

nomen . . . aetatem] the name of Caesar, the age of nineteen years.

1. *Anagnia*] capital of the Hernici,

DCCXCVIII. (ATT. XVI. 9).

legione Alaudarum ad urbem pergere, pecunias municipiis dare, legionem sub signis ducere. Consultabat utrum Romam proficisceretur an Capuam teneret et hunc venientem excluderet, an iret ad tres legiones Macedoniae, quae iter secundum mare superum faciunt, quas sperat habere. Eae congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt, ut hic narrat, et ei convicium grave fecerunt contionantemque fecerunt. Quid quaeris? Ducem se profitetur nec nos sibi deesse oportere. Equidem suasi, ut Romam pergeret. Vix enim mihi et plebeculam urbanam et, si fidem fecerit, etiam viros secum habiturus. O Brute, ubi es? quantam *εὐκαιρίαν* habes! Non equidem hoc divinavi, sed aliquid tale putavi fore. tuum consilium exquiro. Romamne venio an hic maneo? Periculum—*ἀσφάλειαν* habet is locus—fugiam? Romam, ne timeamus, si quid actum videbitur. Hoc igitur explica. Num in maiore *ἀπορίᾳ* fui.

DCCXCVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 9).

σκήπτομαι. Non confido aetati. Ignoro quo animo. Nil sine Pansa tuo volo. Vereor ne valeat Antonius nec a mari discedere libet et metuo ne quae ἀριστεία me absente. Varroni quidem displicet consilium pueri, mihi non sic: firmas copias habet. Brutum habere potest, et rem gerit palam, centuriat Capuae, dinumerat. Iam iamque video bellum. Ad haec rescribe. Tabellarium meum Kalend. Roma profectum sine tuis litteris miror.

DCCXCIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 11).

PUTEOLI; NOVEMBER 5; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De oratione quadam sua ad Atticum missa, de πελογραφία Varronis, de libris, quos scribat, et maxime de componendo opere 'de officiis,' tum de Octaviano, de epistolis Catinam, Tauromenium, Syracusas Valerii causa mittendis, et aliis rebus summatim.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nonis accepi a te duas epistolas, quarum alteram Kal. dederas, alteram pridie. Igitur prius ad superiorem. Nostrum opus tibi probari laetor, ex quo ἀνθη ipsa posuisti, quae mihi florentiora sunt visa tuo iudicio. Cerulas enim tuas miniatulas illas extimescebam. De Sicca ita est, ut scribis. †Asta ea aegre

σκήπτομαι] 'I temporize.'

ἀριστεία] an allusion to the titles given to different books of the Iliad, from the name of the hero whose prowess is especially set forth therein. We should probably write 'I fear some one may have his innings at Rome in my absence.'

non sic] Boot has restored sic from si of Z. 'Varro dislikes the policy of the lad (Octavian); I do not so much.' Cicero would hardly have written non without some qualifying adverb, or conjunction, at the end of a sentence.

Brutum] Decimus Brutus, who was now prefect of Gallia Citerior.

centuriat] 'he is arranging his troops in companies, and advancing them their bounty-money.'

1. Nostrum opus] It is generally supposed that the opus here referred to is the De Gloria. Yet De Sicca, &c., is certainly an allusion to the second Phi-

lippic, so that it is perhaps more reasonable, in the absence of any note of transition, to suppose that the reference is to the second Philippic throughout.

ex quo ἀνθη ipsa] 'from which you quoted the very gems, and they seemed to me the more sparkling.' This is the tasteful rendering of Mr. A. C. Clark (on Mil. 21).

posuisti] 'you have quoted.'

Cerulas . . . miniatulas] see on Att. xv. 14, 4 (758).

†Asta ea aegre me tenui] We suggest a Septimia for the corrupt asta ea, as it is natural to expect mention of her here, as well as Sicca, when both are mentioned in the next clause. A proper name might easily be corrupted. Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 62) reads ab ista, giving the same sense. Either of these is certainly better than At st, 'but hush!' or Hens tu. Translate 'From Septimia I restrained myself with difficulty (from touching on

DCCXCIX. (ATT. XVI. 11).

hui. Itaque perstringam sine ulla contumelia Siccae aut Septimiae, tantum ut sciant παῖδες παίδων, sine †vallo Luciliano, eum illi Fadii filia liberos habuisse. Atque utinam eum diem, cum ista oratio ita libere vagetur, ut etiam in Siccae introëat! Sed illo tempore opus est, quod fuit illis IIIviris. Er, nisi facete! Tu vero leges Sexto eiusque iudicium mihi tribes. Εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι. Caleni interventum et Calvenae. 2. Quod vereris ne ἀδελσχος mihi tu, quis minus? cui, Aristophani Archilochi iambus, sic epistola longissima quaeque a videtur. Quod me admones, tu vero etiam si reprehenderes, modo facile paterer, sed etiam laetarer, quippe, cum in reprehensione esset prudentia cum εὐμενεία. Ita libenter ea corrigam, quae te animadversa sunt. 'Eodem iure quo Rubriana' potius

trigue of Antony with Septimia, the Sicca), so I will lay on the lash a word against Sicca or Septimia, third and fourth generation know Antony is the father of children by the son of C. Fadius.' Cicero resolved to mention Septimia through friend-ship to Sicca, and to dwell rather on the issue of Antony with the daughter

supposed intrigue of Antony (and two others) with Septimia, is almost as unsatisfactory as it is to translate *quo fuerint illi IIIviri*, 'when the three brothers, the Antonii, Marcus, Lucius and Gaius, are dead.' It is just possible that we might interpret literally, as Mr. Watson does, 'under the Triumvirs'; the pleasantry (*facete*) which he ascribes to Atticus

quam 'quo Scipionis,' et de laudibus Dolabellae deruam cumulum. Ac tamen est isto loco bella, ut mihi videtur, *ειρωνεία*, quod eum ter contra cives in acie. Illud etiam malo 'indignissimum est hunc vivere' quam 'quid indignius?' 3. *Πεπλογραφίαν* Varronis tibi probari non moleste fero: a quo adhuc *Ἡρακλείδειον* illud non abstuli. Quod me hortaris ad scribendum, amice tu quidem, sed me scito agere nihil aliud. Gravedo tua mihi molesta est. Quaeso, adhibe quam soles diligentiam. O *Τῆρ* tibi prodesse laetor. Anagnini sunt *Mustela ταξιάρχης* et *Laco*, qui plurimum bibit. Librum quem rogas perpoliam et mittam. 4. Haec ad posteriorem. *Τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*, quatenus Panaetius, absolvi duobus. Illius tres sunt, sed cum initio divisisset ita, tria genera exquirendi officii esse, unum, cum deliberemus honestum an turpe sit, alterum, utile an inutile, tertium, cum haec inter se pugnare videantur, quo modo iudicandum sit, qualis causa Reguli, redire honestum, manere utile, de duobus primis praecellere disseruit, de tertio pollicetur se deinceps scripturum, sed nihil scripsit. Eum locum Posidonius persecutus est. Ego autem et eius librum arcessivi et ad Athenodorum Calvum scripsi, ut ad me *τὰ κεφάλαια*

deruam cumulum] 'I will tone down my praise of Dolabella.' 'I will draw it a little milder.'

eum ter contra cives] Cicero stated, Phil. ii. 75, that thrice Caesar had stood in battle array against his countrymen, in Thessaly, Africa, and Spain, and that Dolabella was beside him on those occasions, and then asks indignantly where was Antony.

quid indignius] Cicero neglected to make the correction; *quid indignius* now stands in the text of Phil. ii. 86.

3. *Πεπλογραφίαν*] This was the rather fantastic title (derived from the Peplus at Athens, on which mythological subjects were embroidered) which Varro gave to a work something like our 'Books of Worthies,' consisting of 700 portraits of eminent men, with a short Life, and a motto, or epigram, attached to each.

abstuli] 'I have not got from him his work in the manner of Heracleides.' *Abstulimus* is used in the same sense in 767, 5.

O *Tite*] This is the way in which Cicero often designates his *De Senectute*, of which the opening words are these. They are part of a passage from Ennius, in which T. Flamininus is thus addressed

by a shepherd, who offers his services as guide to the army:

O Tite si quid ego adiuvor curamve levasso
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa
Ecquid erit praemi?

Anagnini] In Phil. ii. 106 Cicero speaks of 'two men of Anagnia.' The allusion puzzled Atticus; accordingly Cicero supplies the names, which must have been omitted in the copy sent to Atticus. He calls *Mustela Mons. le Capitaine*, and describes *Laco* as 'the champion toper,' probably with a play on *lucus* and *λάκος*, 'tank.'

Librum] The *Topica*, which he tells us he began to copy out just as he set out on his voyage from Velia, cp. Fam. vii. 19 (776), and sent to Trebatius from Regium. The book was drawn up by him from memory during the voyage—a remarkable feat for a man of 62.

4. *Τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*] The *De Officiis*.

cum haec inter se] 'cases in which there is a conflict between duty and expediency.'

Athenodorum Calvum] a stoic of Tarsus, mentioned also in Att. xvi. 14, 4 (805).

τὰ κεφάλαια] 'a précis of his divisions.'

DCCXCIX. (ATT. XVI. 11).

et, quae exspecto: quem velim cohortere et roges, ut quam
a. In eo est *περὶ τοῦ κατὰ περίστασιν καθήκοντος*. Quod
criptione quaeris, non dubito quin *καθήκον* 'officium' sit,
id tu aliud, sed inscriptio plenior 'de officiis.' *Προσφωνῶ*
Ciceroni filio. Visum est non *ἀνοίκειον*. 5. De Myrtilo
e. O quales tu semper istos! Itane in D. Brutum? Di
6. Ego me, ut scripseram, in Pompeianum non abdidi,
tempestatibus, quibus nil taetrius, deinde ab Octaviano
litterae, ut negotium susceperem, Capuam venirem, iterum
blicam servarem, Romam utique statim.

. . . *αἰδεσθὲν μὲν ἀνήνασθαι, δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι*.

en egit sane strenue et agit. Romam veniet cum manu
sed est plane puer. Putat senatum statim. Quis veniet?
rit, quis incertis rebus offendet Antonium? Kal. Ianuar.
rtasse praesidio, aut quidem ante depugnabitur. Puero
pia mire favent. Iter enim faciens in Samnium venit
mansit Teani. Mirifica *ἀπάντησις* et cohortatio. Hoc tu

tamen scripsi, si uti vellet eis Valerius, aut mihi nomina mitteret. 8. De Lepidianis feriis Balbus ad me usque ad III. Kalend. Exspectabo tuas litteras, meque de Torquati negotiolo sciturum puto. Quinti litteras ad te misi, ut scires quam valde eum amaret, quem dolet a te minus amari. Atticae quoniam, quod optimum in pueris est, hilarula est, meis verbis suavium des volo.

DCCC. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 12).

PUTEOLI; NOVEMBER 6; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Oppii epistola, de Ocella, de adventu suo in urbem, de Antonio, de Ἡρακλείδῃ Varronis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Oppii epistolae, quia perhumana erat, tibi misi exemplum. De Ocella, dum tu muginaris nec mihi quidquam rescribis, cœpi consilium domesticum. Itaque me pridie Idus arbitror Romae futurum. Commodius est visum frustra me istio esse, cum id non necesse esset, quam, si opus esset, non adesse, et simul ne intercluderer metuebam. Ille enim iam adventare potest, etsi varii rumores multique quos cuperem veros: nihil tamen certi. Ego vero, quidquid est, tecum potius quam animi pendeam, cum a te

Publice scripsi] 'I have written official letters' to the several communities commending Valerius.

aut . . . mitteret] 'or else he should send me the names': see on *aut ne poposcisses*, Att. ii. 1, 3 (27).

8. *Lepidianis*] Balbus tells me the holidays will last till the 30th. Lepidus was now Pontifex Maximus, in succession to Caesar. On him devolved the duty of fixing the days on which the auspices should be taken, which days would be observed as holidays, *feriae*, on which there would be no meetings of the senate.

eum] Quintus junior.

in pueris] 'give Attica a kiss for being such a merry little thing—it is the greatest charm in children—and tell her that it comes from me.'—Jeans. Observe that *pueris* includes girls. Attica was now about seven years old.

meis verbis] see note on Att. vi. 8, 8 (281).

muginaris] 'keep on heming and hawing.' The word seems to mean *causari*, *tergiversari* (it is explained *nugari et quasi tarde conari*, Paul. ex Fest. 147), but, as Nonius interprets it by *murmurare*, we must suppose it to include some reference to sound. In Plin. H. N. Pref. 18 the form *musinari* is found.

consilium domesticum] 'I drew on my own stock of intelligence.' Cicero says that as Atticus was so dilatory, he 'took his own advice': cp. *id quidem domi est*, 'I am well supplied with that,' Att. x. 14, 2 (400), and note there. So Catullus (31, 14).

ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum,

'smile all the smiles you have.'

Ille] Antony.

tecum potius] *sc. sim*. For the ellipse cp. Att. xiv. 11, 2 (714); 12, 2 (715).

DCCCI. (ATT. XVI. 10).

m, et de te et de me. Sed quid tibi dicam? Bonum animum.
Ἡρακλειδεῖω Varronis, negotia salsa. Me quidem nihil um-
m sic delectavit. Sed haec et alia maiora coram.

DCCCI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 10).

SINUESSA ; NOVEMBER 8 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

scribit in Sinuessanum se venisse et iam propter Antonium dubitare Romam ire,
ut ut sibi suadeat maneatne Arpini an propius accedat an veniat Romam.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. VII. Id. veni ad me in Sinuessanum. Eodem die vulgo
habebantur Antonium mansurum esse Casilini. Itaque mutavi
silium. Statueram enim recta Appia Romam. Facile me ille
adsecutus. [Aiunt enim eum Caesariana uti celeritate. Verti
ur me a Minturnis Arpinum versus. Constitueram, ut v. Idus
Arpini manerem aut in Arcano. 2. Nunc mi Attice, tote

DCCCII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 13 a).

AQUINUM ; NOVEMBER 10 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere Sinuessano Aquinum versus facto et acceptis Attici epistolis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O casum mirificum ! vi. Idus cum ante lucem de Sinuessano surrexissem venissemque diluculo ad pontem Tiretium, qui est Minturnis, in quo flexus est ad iter Arpinas, obviam mihi fit tabellarius, qui me offendit *δολιχὸν πλόον ὀρμαίνοντα*. Ego statim, 'cedo,' inquam, 'si quid ab Attico.' Nondum legere poteramus : nam et lumina dimiseramus nec satis lucebat. Cum autem luceret, ante scripta epistola ex duabus tuis prior mihi legi coepta est. Illa omnium quidem elegantissima. Ne sim salvus, si aliter scribo ac sentio : nihil legi humanius. Itaque veniam quo vocas, modo adiutore te. Sed nihil tam *ἀπροσδιόνυσον* mihi primo videbatur quam ad eas litteras, quibus ego a te consilium petieram, te mihi ista rescribere. 2. Ecce tibi altera, qua hortaris *παρ' ἡνεμόεντα Μίμαντα, νήσου ἐπὶ Ψυρίης*, Appiam scilicet *ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' ἔχοντα*. Itaque eo die mansi Aquini. Longulum sane iter et via mala : inde postridie mane proficiscens has litteras dedi.

1. *surrexissem*] 'just as I had risen from bed, to pursue my journey from Sinuessa.'

πλόον] He uses *πλόον*, though referring to a journey by land, as one might now write, 'The postman knocked just as my boat was on the shore and my bark was on the sea,' though contemplating a land-journey.

cedo] 'give me'; the plural *cetto* is found in Plautus.

lumina] 'I had sent away the flam-beaux.'

ἀπροσδιόνυσον] *mal-à-propos*: cp. 799, 4.

2. *παρ' ἡνεμόεντα*] Atticus, in pointing out his route to Cicero, used the words of Homer, *Od. iii. 171*; by *Μίμαντα* he means the Apennines, and by *νήσου Ψυρίης* the *insula Arpinas*. The somewhat laboured joke of Atticus perhaps suggested to Cicero his quotation of *δολιχὸν πλόον ὀρμαίνοντα* from the same context.

mansi] 'I am staying,' another example of the epistolary tense, for which see on 771, 1.

DCCCIII. (ATT. XVI. 13 b).

DCCCIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 13 b).

PINUM; NOVEMBER 10; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

hoc epistolae fragmento consulit Cicero Atticum ubi putet se commode versari posse, suadetque, ubi ipse se contineat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

. * * et quidem, ut a me dimitterem invitissimus, fecerunt
is litterae. Rem tibi Tiro narrabit. Tu quid faciendum sit
ois. Praeterea possimne propius accedere—malo enim esse in
ulano aut uspiam in suburbano—an etiam longius disceden-
putes crebro ad me velim scribas. Erit autem cotidie cui des.
quod praeterea consulis quid tibi censeam faciundum, difficile
um absim. Verum tamen, si pares aequae inter se, quiescen-
: sin, latius manabit, et quidem ad nos, deinde communiter.

itineribus nescio quid aliter audio atque ut ad te scribebam. Omnia igitur velim explices et ad me certa mittas. 2. De reliquo quid tibi ego dicam? Ardeo studio historiae—incredibiliter enim me commovet tua cohortatio—, quae quidem nec institui nec effioi potest sine tua ope. Coram igitur hoc quidem conferemus. In praesentia mihi velim scribas quibus coss. C. Fannius M. F. tribunus pl. fuerit. Videor mihi audisse P. Africano L. Mummio censoribus. Id igitur quaero. Tu mihi de iis rebus, quae novantur, omnia certa, clara. III. Idus ex Arpinati.

DCCCV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 14).

ARPINUM; AFTER NOVEMBER 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Octaviano et Antonio, de nominis 'officii' vi ac potestate, de Nepotis filio, Q. filius quid ad M. filium scribat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

i. Nihil erat plane quod scriberem. Nam cum Puteolis essem, cotidie aliquid novi de Octaviano, multa etiam falsa de Antonio. Ad ea autem, quae scripsisti—tres enim acceperam III. Idus a te epistolas—valde tibi adsentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmitus acta tyranni comprobatum iri quam in Telluris atque id contra Brutum fore: sin autem vincitur, vides intolerabilem Antonium, ut quem velis nescias. 2. O Sestii tabellarium, hominem nequam! Postridie Puteolis Romae se dixit fore. Quod

2. In praesentia] cp. Att. vii. 14, 1 (310).

censoribus] This word must be supplied, because Mummio and Africanus were never colleagues in the consulship, a fact of which Cicero could not have been ignorant. They were censors together in 612 (142). Fannius is an interlocutor in the *De Amicitia*, on which Cicero was then engaged.

quae novantur] 'changes in the constitution,' with an idea of disapproval of the changes: cp. Sall. Cat. 39, 3; 55, 1.

1. aliquid novi . . . multa etiam falsa] sc. afferebantur or erant.

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multum possit] The *multum* is introduced to balance the succeeding *multo firmitus*. We have in the next letter but one, § 3, *quamquam enim potest*; and Lehm., p. 15, gives a good example of *possit* used absolutely in Fam. iv. 13, 5 (483), *etiam illa quae minimum nunc quidem potest, sed possit necesse est, res publica*.

in Telluris] sc. aede; on the third day after the death of Caesar all his acts were ratified in the temple of *Tellus*.

quam] for *utrum*: see on Att. xvi. 8, 1 (797).

2. Postridie Puteolis] The letter-carrier of Sestius had undertaken to be in Rome the day after he left Puteoli.

D

DCCCV. (ATT. XVI. 14).

mones, ut pedetemptim, adsentior: etsi aliter cogitabam. Nec Philippus aut Marcellus movet. Alia enim eorum ratio: et, non est, tamen videtur. Sed in isto iuvene quamquam animi, auctoritatis parum est. Tamen vide, si forte in Tusculano esse possim, idne melius sit—ero libentius: nihil enim igno—
—an hic, cum Antonius venerit. 3. Sed, ut aliud ex alio, non est dubium quin, quod Graeci καθήκον, nos ‘officium.’ autem quid dubitas quin etiam in rem publicam praeclare dret? Nonne dicimus ‘consulum officium, senatus officium, imperatoris officium?’ Praeclare convenit, aut da melius. 4. Male as de Nepotis filio. Valde mehercule moveor et moleste fero. cieram omnino esse istum puerum. Caninium perdidit, homi-
e, quod ad me attinet, non ingratum. Athenodorum nihil est d hortere: misit enim satis bellum ὑπόμνημα. Gravedini, eso, omni ratione subveni. Avi tui pronepos scribit ad patris

[*pedetemptim*] sc. *eam*, ‘proceed cau-ly,’ in my choice of sides.

[*Philippus aut Marcellus*] Atticus had ed Caesar to follow the example of hilippus and C. Marcellus, and not

[*quadrēt*] ‘is applicable to.’ This is the conjecture of Boot and C. F. W. Müller for *caderet*, the tense of which would be difficult to explain. Moreover, *quadrare* is often used by Cicero in exactly

mei nepotem se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, aedem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Videbis igitur et scribes. Sexti iudicium exspecto.

DCCCVI. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 24).

ARPINUM ; MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Tironi de rebus domesticis scribit, de publicis sciscitatur.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Etsi mane Harpalum miseram, tamen, cum haberem, cui recte darem litteras, etsi novi nihil erat, isdem de rebus volui ad te saepius scribere, non quin confiderem diligentiae tuae, sed rei me magnitudo movebat. Mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi, ut rationes nostras explicares. Ofillio et Aurelio utique satis fiat. A Flamma, si non potes omne, partem aliquam velim extorqueas, in primisque, ut expedita sit pensio K. Ian. De attributione conficies, de reprae-

ex Nonis iis] The Nones of December, memorable as the day on which Cicero consigned the Catilinarian conspirators to prison. It would seem Quintus expected to be invested with some office, the quaestorship or aedileship. But we have no evidence of this, and it is very unlikely that at his age, between 23 and 24, he could have aspired to such an office, even though we make full allowance for anomalies, perhaps possible in such troublous times. It is more probable, as Mongault suggested, that he contemplated his attack on Antony in the capacity of a private person. The reason why young Quintus specified the Nones of December was that on that day the new quaestors entered on their duties, and he, doubtless, wished to have their assistance.

Sexti] i. e. the criticism of Sextus Peducaeus on the second Philippic.

1. *Harpalum*] probably a slave. He is not mentioned elsewhere.
recto] 'safely.'

prora et puppis] 'the Alpha and Omega of my design in dismissing you was the arrangement of my affairs.' For the Greek proverb Otto (p. 289) quotes Apost. 15, 97: τὰ ἐκ πύρας καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρύμνης ἀπόλλυται ἐπὶ τῶν πανολεθρίᾳ φθειρομένων. Somewhat different is [Dio Chrys.] xxxvii. p. 120 R (= ii. 303 Dind.), οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἔσπερον τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πύρα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς ἑλλάδος βλῆσαι μὲν καὶ ἀφρεῖοι.

Ofillio] see note to Att. xiii. 37 (657).

Aurelio] a procurator of Montanus, who had become surety to Plancus for Flaminius Flamma, and was now forced to meet Flamma's liabilities. Montanus had gone to Athens with young Cicero, and the latter had asked his father to endeavour to settle the debt incurred by Montanus: cp. Att. xii. 52, 1 (599); xiv. 16, 4 (721); xvi. 15, 3 (807).

pensio] to be paid by Flamma, who seems not to have repudiated the debt, but only to have required that the time for payment should be extended.

Ian.] Most editors alter to *Iun.*, and assign this letter to May; Wesenberg

DCCCVI. (FAM. XVI. 24).

tionem videbis. De domesticis rebus hactenus. 2. De publicis
a mihi certa; quid Octavianus, quid Antonius, quae hominum
o, quid futurum putes. Ego vix teneor, quin accurram. Sed
litteras tuas exspecto; et scito Balbum tum fuisse Aquini,
tibi est dictum, et postridie Hirtium: puto utrumque ad
s. Sed quod egerint—. Dolabellae procuratores fac ut ad-
eantur: appellabis etiam Papiam. Vale.

Ian; Grüber thinks that perhaps
letter was written after June 14,
e of 749. But Ruete (p. 35) shows
albus and Hirtius returned to Rome
y: cp. Att. xv. 5, 2 (737); 9, 1
that *ego vix teneor quin accurram*
s ill with the despairing tone of
s letters in June, i.e. Att. xv. 18
(750) to (752); and that this letter
its the middle of November, when
sent Tiro to Rome, cp. Att. xvi.
(803), and when Cicero himself
editating return: cp. Att. xvi. 12
10, 1 (801); 13 a, 1 (802); 13 c, 1
Dolabella, too, appears to have
absent, and we know that he left
y towards the end of October: cp.
v. 13 a, 1 (795).

reading of M Pal militates against his
view of the date of this letter; but he
justly maintains that it does not outweigh
the other arguments. He did not know
that the correct reading *Octavianus* had
the authority of H Erf. Mendelssohn
rightly adopts it.

Sed st! litteras tuas exspecto] So all
the editors, whom we follow with some
hesitation. M and most mss have *sed si*;
a few have *sc* (= scilicet); one ms, accord-
ing to Ursinus, has *st*. H Erf. Pal have
simply *Sed* (written S,) *tuas litteras ex-*
specto; and such, we think, may be the
true reading. Making all due allowance
for the conversational tone of the letters *st*
= 'hush' is really too colloquial, especially
in such an ordinary matter as the expec-

DCCCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 15).

ARPINUM; AFTER NOVEMBER 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; ART. CIC. 62.

De pigritia sua, quod non sua manu scribat, de alienato in Dolabellam animo et consilio severius in eum agendi, de re publica, de litteris obsignata iam epistola ab Attico et Sex. Peducaeo acceptis, de desperato statu rei publicae, de existimatione sua et nominibus suis dissolvendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Noli putare pigritia me facere, quod non mea manu scribam—sed mehercule pigritia. Nihil enim habeo aliud quod dicam, et tamen in tuis quoque epistolis Alexim videor agnoscere. Sed ad rem venio. Ego, si me non improbissime Dolabella tractasset, dubitasset fortasse utrum remissior essem an summo iure contenderem. Nunc vero etiam gaudeo mihi causam oblatam, in qua et ipse sentiat et reliqui omnes me ab illo abalienatum, idque prae me feram, et quidem me mea causa facere et rei publicae, ut illum oderim: quod, cum eam me auctore defendere coepisset, non modo deseruerit emptus pecunia, sed etiam, quantum in ipso fuit, everterit. 2. Quod autem quaeris quo modo agi placeat, cum dies

1. *Noli putare*] 'Pray do not suppose it was laziness that made me employ an amanuensis in writing to you: it was really nothing but—well, laziness, there is no other word for it: however [you are as lazy, for] I think I recognise the hand of your amanuensis Alexis in your letter to me.' Cicero is about to make an excuse, but when he comes to the point he finds that it really was laziness which prevented him from writing with his own hand. The form of expression reminds us somewhat of the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* so familiar to readers of Aristophanes, but can hardly be called an instance of *oxymoron*, to which figure Boot refers it, quoting an excellent instance of *oxymoron* from Plin. Ep. ix. 26, 1, *nihil peccat nisi quod nihil peccat*, which is exactly parallel to the *faultily faultless* of Tennyson's *Maud*.

2. *Quod autem quaeris*] Boot quotes an explanation by Huschke of this difficult passage, of which he himself ap-

proves, and of which we append a summary (cp. Rein, *Privatrecht der Römer*, p. 671):—Cicero leaves to the judgment of Atticus the day on which he is to proceed against Dolabella, only expressing a hope that it will take place at a time when it may not be unsuitable for him to be in Rome. As to the money due to him by Dolabella, Cicero wishes to pursue his rights to the full, but at the same time to save Dolabella any extreme or unnecessary humiliation. How is this to be done? He could (1) sue Dolabella, and if he did not appear, and his agents (*procuratores*) failed to satisfy the claim, he could levy a distraint on the goods of the defaulter. This he rejects as involving too great a public exposure of Dolabella. He could also (2) sue the sureties (*sponsores*). But he feels 'it has an ugly look' (*videtur habere quandam δυσωπλίαν*), to take this step. Huschke, in explanation of this, refers to the testimony of various Roman Juris consulti

DCCCVII. (ATT. XVI. 15).

rit, primum velim eius modi sit, ut non alienum sit me
ae esse, de quo, ut de ceteris, faciam, ut tu censueris. De
na autem agi prorsus vehementer et severe volo. Etsi spon-
appellare videtur habere quamdam *δυσωπίαν*, tamen hoc
sit consideres velim. Possum enim, ut sponsores appel-
r, procuratores introducere—neque enim illi litem contesta-
ur—, quo facto non sum nescius sponsores liberari. Sed et
urpe arbitror eo nomine, quod satis dato debeat, procuratores
non dissolvere, et nostrae gravitatis ius nostrum sine summa
ignominia persequi. De hoc quid placeat rescribas velim,
tubito quin hoc totum lenius administraturus sis. 3. Redeo
m publicam. Multa mehercule a te saepe *ἐν πολιτικῷ* genere
enter, sed his litteris nihil prudentius: ‘quamquam enim
t et in praesentia belle iste puer retundit Antonium, tamen
m exspectare debemus.’ At quae contio! Nam est missa
Iurat ‘ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat’ et simul
ram intendit ad statuam. *Μηδὲ σωθείην ὑπό γε τοιούτου!*
ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascae nostri

tribunatum, de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentem totamque causam manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore. Cum ille diceret ita futurum, 'Quid igitur festinamus?' inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kalend. Ianuar. nihil opus est: nos autem eius voluntatem ante Idus Decembr. perspicieimus in Casca. Valde mihi adsensus est. Quam ob rem haec quidem haec. Quod reliquum est, cotidie tabellarios habebis et, ut ego arbitror, etiam quod scribas habebis cotidie. Leptae litterarum exemplum tibi misi, ex quo mihi videtur *στρατύλαξ* ille deiectus de gradu. Sed tu, cum legeris, existimabis.

4. Obsignata iam epistola litteras a te et a Sexto accepi. Nihil iucundius litteris Sexti, nihil amabilius: nam tuae breves; priores erant uberrimae. Tu quidem et prudenter et amice suades, ut in his locis potissimum sim, quoad audiamus haec, quae commota sunt, quorsus evadant. 5. Sed me, mi Attice, non sane hoc quidem tempore movet res publica—non quo aut sit mihi quidquam carius aut esse debeat, sed desperatis etiam Hippocrates vetat adhibere medicinam; qua re ista valeant—me res familiaris movet, rem dico? immo vero existimatio. Cum enim tanta reliqua sint, ne Terentiae quidem adhuc quod solvam expeditum est. Terentiae dico? Scis nos pridem iam constituisse Montani nomine HS. xxv dissolvere. Pudenter hoc Cicero petierat, uti de suo, et liberalissime, ut tibi quoque placuerat: promiseram, Erotique dixeram, ut sepositum haberet. Non modo sed iniquis-

used in this sense by Plautus, Bacch. iii. 2, 15—

Nunc specimen spectitur nunc certamen cernitur.

ita futurum] sc. amicum tyrannoctonis futurum.

στρατύλαξ ille] 'the *petit caporal* has had a staggerer.' There had recently been some desertion to Octavian in the forces to Antony. *Deiectus de gradu* is a technical term in the description of gladiatorial conflicts.

4. *Sexto]* Peducaeo.

priores] We agree with Boot, that it is not quite clear to what letter *priores* refers. Certainly not to the letter from Peducaeus. Boot ingeniously suggests *etsi res for priores*.

quas commota sunt] cp. *quae norantur*, 804 *fin.*

5. *rem]* Boot would read *res*, and probably rightly. It is the custom of Cicero, in repetition, to preserve the case and exact form of the word repeated, as in *Terentiae dico* in this section, and the examples cited by Boot from Pliny, *cum dico princeps*, Ep. iii. 2, 2; *cum dico balinei*, ib. 5, 14.

Montani nomine] see on Att. xii. 52, 1 (599).

uti de suo] sc. *sit*, 'that it should be out of his pocket.'

Non modo sed] 'not only has Eros neglected my injunction to put this sum aside for settling the debt of Montanus, but [his action has been such that]

DCCCVII. (ATT. XVI. 15).

fenore versuram facere Aurelius coactus est. Nam de-
ntiae nomine Tiro ad me scripsit te dicere nummos a Dola-
fore. Male eum credo intellexisse, si quisquam male intel-
potius nihil intellexisse. Tu enim ad me scripsisti Cocceii
nsum et iisdem paene verbis Eros. 6. Veniendum est igitur
ipsam flammam. Turpius est enim privatim cadere quam
ce. Itaque ceteris de rebus, quas ad me suavissime scripsisti,
urbato animo non potui ut consueram rescribere. Consenti
cura, ubi sum, ut me expediam: quibus autem rebus, venit
em mihi in mentem, sed certi constituere nihil possum, prius
te videro. Qui minus autem ego istis recte esse possim
est Marcellus? Sed non id agitur, neque id maxime curo.
curem vides. Adsum igitur.

us (the agent of Montanus) has been
d to raise the money to pay the
at an exorbitant rate of interest.'
expression, however, is far from
ctory, and we should probably read
Wesenberg, after Pius, *non modo*
am facere sed iniquissimo fenore A.
est.

sc. *solutum iri.*

quisquam male intellexit? The words

6. *cadere*] 'to be ruined' (financially);
but *cadere* also might refer to the ruin of
the republic, which was impending.
Cicero says, 'I must come and join you
in Rome, even though I am walking into
the midst of the conflagration [I must see
what I can do with my affairs], for dis-
graceful as is our public ruin, private
ruin is still more humiliating.'

ubi sum? We have omitted in which

DCCCVIII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 4).

GALLIA COMATA; NOVEMBER (END); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

L. Munatius Plancus superioribus M. Ciceronis litteris rescribens agnoscit benevolentiam monitoris seseque in potestate rei publicae fore pollicetur.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Gratissimae mihi tuae litterae fuerunt, quas ex Furnii sermone te scripsisse animadverti. Ego autem praeteriti temporis excusationem adfero, quod te profectum audieram, nec multo ante redisse scii, quam ex epistola tua cognovi; nullum enim in te officium, ne minimum quidem, sine maxima culpa videor posse praeterire, in quo tuendo habeo causas plurimas vel paternae necessitudinis vel meae a pueritia observantiae vel tui erga me mutui amoris. 2. Qua re, mi Cicero, quod mea tuaque patitur aetas, persuade tibi te unum esse, in quo ego colendo patriam mihi constituerim sanctitatem. Omnia igitur tua consilia mihi non magis prudentiae plena, quae summa est, videntur quam fidelitatis, quam ego ex mea conscientia metior: qua re si aut aliter sentirem, certe admonitio tua me reprimere aut, si dubitarem, hortatio impellere posset, ut id sequerer, quod tu optimum putares. Nunc vero quid est, quod me in aliam partem trahere possit? Quaecumque in me bona sunt aut fortunae beneficio tributa aut meo

There is an elaborate treatise *De L. Munati Planci sermone* by August Rhodius (Bautzen, 1896), to which we are much indebted.

1. *litterae*] i.e. both Fam. x. 1 and 3 (787, 789).

Furnii sermone] cp. Fam. x. 3, 1 (789). *redisse*] The return of Cicero referred to here is not that from Puteoli in December, but the return from his intended voyage into Greece in August. The answer to this letter, viz. Fam. x. 6 (810), was most probably written before December 20, as otherwise Cicero would have made mention of the meeting of the senate held on that day, especially when

Plancus had made a definite request for the most important political news.

scii . . . cognovi] There is no practical distinction here between the general *scii*, 'know,' and the more particular *cognovi*, 'learn.'

vel tui erga me mutui amoris] 'the reciprocated love you feel for me.'

2. *patriam . . . sanctitatem*] 'I have set before myself the duty of filial reverence.' *Patrius* is what belongs to the position of the father as head of the family: *paternus* is simply what comes from the father.

quam fidelitatis] 'than sincerity, and I can measure that from my own knowledge.'

DCCCVIII. (FAM. X. 4).

e parta, etsi a te propter amorem carius sunt aestimata,
 h vel inimicissimi iudicio tanta sunt, ut praeter bonam famam
 desiderare videantur. 3. Qua re hoc unum tibi persuade,
 tum viribus eniti, consilio providere, auctoritate monere
 ro, hoc omne rei publicae semper futurum. Non est ignotus
 sensus tuus; neque, si facultas—optabilis mihi quidem—tui
 entis esset, umquam a tuis consiliis discreparem, nec nunc
 littam ut ullum meum factum reprehendere iure possis.
 m in expectatione omnium rerum, quid in Gallia citeriore,
 in urbe mense Ianuario geratur ut sciam. Interim maximam
 sollicitudinem curamque sustineo, ne inter aliena vitia hae
 s nostra mala suam putent occasionem. Quod si proinde, ut

in famam] This is a reference to
 Cicero had said, Fam. x. 3, 3 (789),
 mines existimarent te nimis servire
 bus.

qua re hoc . . . futurum] 'Where-
 rsuade yourself of this, that any-
 ny powers can effect, my prudence
 , my influence recommend, shall
 ays and completely at the service
 state.' The first hand of M and

in expectatione; also Capt. ii. 2, 3, tibi
 ne in quaestione essemus cautum intellego.
 This is interesting, and undoubtedly true
 when in expectatione is used by itself;
 but we are not quite certain that the
 following objective genitive, omnium
 rerum, does not justify the active use,
 which, without it, would not be possible.
 Rhodius suggests cura for sum. This
 makes good sense, but we can hardly

ipse mereor, mihi successerit, certe et tibi, cui maxime cupio, et omnibus viris bonis satis faciam. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

DCCCIX. CICERO TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 5).

ROME; SHORTLY AFTER DECEMBER 9; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero excusat se quod Bruti litteris non responderit, hortatur ad libertatem recuperandam, studium suum et officia pollicetur.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Lupus familiaris noster cum a te venisset cumque Romae quosdam dies commoraretur, ego eram in iis locis, in quibus maxime tuto me esse arbitrabar: eo factum est, ut ad te Lupus sine meis litteris rediret, cum tamen curasset tuas ad me perferendas. Romam autem veni a. d. v. Idus Dec., nec habui

Aristotle's well-known remark about the Helots (Pol. ii. 9, 2), ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι (sc. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων) διατελοῦσιν; and O'Connell's admonition that 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity.'

mihi successerit] 'if I come off as well as I deserve.' For this impersonal use cp. Q. Fr. ii. 12 (14), 1 (139), *sed si ex sententia successerit*.

cui . . . cupio] cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 10 (53), *Quid? Ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum?* Cicero, as Rhodius points out (p. 6), more usually says, *cupio omnia alicuius causa*, e.g. Fam. xiii. 75, 1 (178); 879, 2; Verr. ii. 180.

Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas] This is the form which Plancus, and apparently Plancus alone of Cicero's correspondents, most usually employs in ending his letters.

1. *Lupus*] This may have been the P. Rutilius Lupus who was tr. pl. in 698 (56), and moved that Pompey should restore Ptolemy Auletes: cp. Fam. i. 1, 3 (95); 2, 2 (96); Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1 (93). He was praetor in 705 (49), and acted for Pompey in Spain: cp. Caes. B. C. i. 24, 3; Att. viii. 12 a, 4 (331). Though

Cicero insinuates that Lupus acquiesced in Caesar's administration, cp. Att. ix. 1, 2 (353), Pompey trusted him sufficiently to entrust him with the duty of holding Achaëa against the Caesarians; cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 55, 2. Orelli thinks that the Lupus referred to in these letters is a different man, a legatus of D. Brutus, and known only in these negotiations.

in iis locis] cp. introductory note to F. xi. 4 (796).

tuas] This letter is not extant.

a. d. v. Idus Dec.] This reading of the mss is to be retained. Ruete, in an elaborate note (pp. 35-7), wishes to alter *Idus* to *Kal.*: cp. Att. xv. 11, 1 (744), for the reverse change. The question is—Was the meeting at Cicero's house, cp. Fam. xi. 7, 1 (811), which was convened by Lupus, held before or after his journey to Mutina, in December? If before, we must almost certainly follow Ruete, for it is quite impossible that Lupus can have left Rome later than December 8. From Fam. xi. 6, 1 (812), it appears that Lupus arrived in Rome on December 18th, probably in the evening, on the sixth day after leaving Mutina. If we suppose that he journeyed from Rome at express speed, and returned at once, he cannot have left Rome later

DCCCIX. (FAM. XI. 5).

quam antiquius, quam ut Pansam statim convenirem; ex quo te cognovi, quae maxime optabam. Qua re hortatione tuam non eges, si ne in illa quidem re, quae a te gesta est post tuam memoriam maxima, hortatorem desiderasti. 2. Illud a breviter significandum videtur, populum Romanum omnia exspectare atque in te aliquando recuperandae libertatis in spem ponere. Tu, si dies noctesque memineris, quod te certo scio, quantam rem gesseris, non obliviscere profecto, quae tibi etiam nunc gerendae sint: si enim iste provinciam mea erit, cui quidem ego semper amicus fui ante, quam illum videri non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum re publica mea gerere, spem reliquam nullam video salutis. 3. Quam ob rem obsecro isdem precibus, quibus senatus populusque Romanus, ut perpetuum rem publicam dominatu regio liberet, ut principum consentiant exitus. Tuum est hoc munus, tuae partes; a te

December 8. If the meeting was held on the return of Lupus (as we hold it was held on the morning of the 10th), *Fam. xi. 6, 1* (812), *Lupus cum Romam sexto die Mutina venisset*.

during the beginning of the conference, but left for Mutina before it was completed. Next day, the 20th, in the morning, Cicero attended the senate, and delivered the third Philippic. The house

hoc civitas vel omnes potius gentes non exspectant solum, sed etiam postulant: quamquam, cum hortatione non egeas, ut supra scripsi, non utar ea pluribus verbis; faciam illud, quod meum est, ut tibi omnia mea officia, studia, curas, cogitationes pollicear, quæ ad tuam laudem et gloriam pertinebunt. Quam ob rem velim tibi ita persuadeas, me cum rei publicæ causa, quæ mihi vita mea est carior, tum quod tibi ipsi faveam tuamque dignitatem amplificari velim, tuis optimis consiliis, amplitudini, gloriæ nullo loco defuturum.

DCCCX. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 5).

ROME; DECEMBER (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero denuo L. Plancum ad suscipiendam conservandamque rem p. gloriæ stimulis instigare studet.

CICERO PLANCO SAL.

1. Binas a te accepi litteras eodem exemplo, quod ipsum argumento mihi fuit diligentiae tuæ: intellexi enim te laborare, ut

ut tibi . . . pertinebunt] 'to promise you in every respect my zealous service and my anxious thought, which will be devoted to your renown and glory.' We think it better to take *officia . . . cogitationes* as antecedent to *quæ* (which is in the neuter, owing to the diverse genders of those antecedents) than either to supply, or understand, something like *in rebus omnibus* after *pollicear*. Andr. and Mr. Jeans, however, adopt the latter alternative. Mr. Jeans translates, 'I will promise you my zeal and service, my care and study, in all that shall be seen to concern your name and glory.'

tum quod . . . defuturum] 'and also, because, as you know, I am devoted to your interests, and desire the advancement of your present high position, I shall never fail to support your patriotic policy, your dignity, and renown.' As Mr. Watson points out, the subjunctive *faveam* is virtual oblique.

This letter is certainly an answer to Fam. x. 4 (808); cp. note on *paternæ necessitudinis*, § 1. It cannot have been written after December 20, else Cicero

would surely have told Plancus about the third Philippic and the motion relative to Plancus with which it concludes (§ 38, *senatum ad summam rem p. pertinere arbitrari ab D. Bruto et L. Planco imperatoribus, consulibus designatis, itemque a ceteris, qui provincias obtinent, obtineri ex lege Iulia quoad ex senatus consulto cuique eorum successum sit*), especially as Plancus had asked for political news; moreover, Cicero had made mention of this speech in letters addressed to D. Brutus, Fam. xi. 6, 2 (812); Trebonius, x. 28, 2 (819); Cornificius, xii. 22, 3 (813). Nor is it likely that the letter was written in January, for then certainly Cicero would have spoken of the embassy sent to Antony, and the anxiety of everyone as to its result, as he did to Cornificius, xii. 24, 1 (817), and to D. Brutus, xi. 8, 1 (816), in January. Nor was it written in February, for then he would have related the exciting events which occurred in that month, when the ambassadors returned. On the contrary, the letter has all the appearance of having been written when there was no definite news to tell.

1. *eodem exemplo*] 'of the same tenour.'

DCCCX. (FAM. X. 5).

mihi expectatissimae litterae perferrentur, ex quibus cepi
um duplicem mihi in comparatione difficilem ad iudican-
amoremne erga me tuum an animum in rem publicam pluris
mandum putarem. Est omnino patriae caritas meo quidem
o maxima, sed amor voluntatisque coniunctio plus certe
suavitatis. Itaque commemoratio tua paternae necessitudinis
volentiaeque eius, quam erga me a pueritia contulisses, cete-
que rerum, quae ad eam sententiam pertinebant, incredi-
mihi laetitiam attulerunt. 2. Rursus declaratio animi tui,
haberes de re publica quemque habiturus esses, mihi erat
dissima, eoque maior erat haec laetitia, quod ad illa superiora
ebat. Itaque te non hortor solum, mi Plance, sed plane
oro, quod feci iis litteris, quibus tu humanissime respondisti,
ta mente omnique animi impetu in rem publicam incumbas :
est, quod tibi maiori fructui gloriaeque esse possit, nec quic-
ex omnibus rebus humanis est praeclarius aut praestantius
de re publica bene mereri. 3. Adhuc enim—patitur tua
a humanitas et sapientia me, quod sentiam, libere dicere—
na suffragante videris, res maximas consecutus, quod quam-

amittas. Sic moneo ut filium, sic faveo ut mihi, sic hortor ut et pro patria et amicissimum.

DCCCXI. CICERO TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 7).

ROME; DECEMBER 19; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero D. Bruto suadet, ut salutem populi Romani suo ipsius arbitrato tueatur, senatus auctoritatem non exspectet.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Cum adhibuisset domi meae Lupus me et Libonem et Servium, consobrinum tuum, quae mea fuerit sententia, cognosse te ex M. Seio arbitror, qui nostro sermoni interfuit: reliqua, quamquam statim Seium Graeceius est subsecutus, tamen ex Graecio poteris cognoscere. 2. Caput autem est hoc, quod te diligentissime percipere et meminisse volo, ut ne in libertate et salute populi Romani conservanda auctoritatem senatus exspectes

sic faveo ut mihi] Gitlbauer and Mendelssohn compare Fam. x. 3, 2 (78⁹), *his de causis mirabiliter faveo dignitati tuae quam mihi tecum statuo debere esse communem*.

ut et pro patria] If this is right as it stands, and if we are not to supply something like *propugnans* before *pro patria*, we can only suppose that it is an example of an ellipse of a verb of action, which often occurs in the comic drama (cp. Dräger, i. 196), and occasionally in Cicero, e.g. Phil. i. 6, *nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum* (sc. *agebantur*); Att. i. 16, 12 (22), *alterum, cuius domi divisores habitarent, adversus rem publicam* (sc. *facere*).

On the date of this letter see note to Fam. xi. 5, 2 (809).

1. *Libonem*] Bill. supposes that this Libo was the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, who had held command of the fleet in the Civil War: cp. *Cæs. B. C.* iii. 5, 3. We have seen that a Lupus (probably the same man that is mentioned here)

acted in concert with this Libo twelve years before, in the proposal that Pompey the Great should restore Auletes: cp. Fam. i. 1, 3 (95).

Servium] Servius Sulpicius Galba, the great-grandfather of the emperor. We have a letter from him to Cicero, describing the battle of Forum Gallorum, Fam. x. 30 (841).

M. Seio] probably the son of M. Seius, who is mentioned in Fam. ix. 7, 1 (462); Att. xii. 11 (502), as a friend of Cicero's. In 680 (74) M. Seius the elder gave a large donation of corn to the people during a famine, and thus blotted out the disgrace under which he laboured for some unknown crime (Off. ii. 58; Planc. 12).

Graecius] a friend, and perhaps a legatus, of D. Brutus: cp. Att. xv. 8, 2 (741).

2. *volo*] Most mss give *volum*, some *velim*, some *volumus*: see Adn. Crit. One of Mr. Allen's codd. reads as in the text, thus confirming an emendation of Wesenberg's (E. A. 38): cp. Fam. xvi. 27, 2 (816), where the mss give *scio* for *sciam*.

auctoritatem] 'authorization.'

DCCCXI. (FAM. XI. 7).

um liberi, ne et tuum factum condemnes—nullo enim publico
 lio rem publicam liberavisti; quo etiam est res illa maior et
 or—, et adolescentem vel puerum potius Caesarem iudices
 re fecisse, qui tantam causam publicam privato consilio
 eperit, denique homines rusticos, sed fortissimos viros civesque
 mos, dementes fuisse iudices, primum milites veteranos com-
 ones tuos, deinde legionem Martiam, legionem quartam, quae
 n consulem hostem iudicaverunt seque ad salutem rei publicae
 ndendam contulerunt. Voluntas senatus pro auctoritate haberi
 t, cum auctoritas impeditur metu. 3. Postremo suscepta tibi
 a iam bis est, ut non sit integrum: primum Idibus Martiis,
 de proxime, exercitu novo et copiis comparatis. Quam ob
 ad omnia ita paratus, ita animatus debes esse, non ut nihil
 as nisi iussus, sed ut ea geras, quae ab omnibus summa cum
 iratione laudentur.

lo . . . liberavisti] 'no official body
 rized you to free our country.'
 puerum potius] cp. Phil. iii. 3, C.
 r, adolescens paene potius puer—he
 ighteen at this time.

Octavius was first successful in winning
 over his father's veterans (Vell. ii. 61).
 legionem Martiam] This legion had
 deserted Antony about the middle of No-
 vember; some days later the Fourth also

DCCCXII. CICERO TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 6).

ROME ; DECEMBER 20 (EVENING) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero D. Bruti dignitatem sibi curae fore idque iam in senatu declaratum esse scribit.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Lupus noster cum Romam sexto die Mutina venisset, postridie me mane convenit, tua mihi mandata diligentissime exposuit et litteras reddidit. Quod mihi tuam dignitatem commendas, eodem tempore existimo te mihi meam dignitatem commendare, quam mehercule non habeo tua cariorem: qua re mihi gratissimum facies, si exploratum habebis tuis laudibus nullo loco nec consilium nec studium meum defuturum. 2. Cum tribuni pl. edixissent, senatus adesset a. d. XIII. Kal. Ian. haberentque in animo de praesidio consulum designatorum referre, quamquam statueram in senatum ante Kal. Ian. non venire, tamen cum eo die ipso edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi aut ita haberi senatum, ut de tuis divinis in rem publicam meritis sileretur—quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem—, aut, etiam si quid de te honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. 3. Itaque in senatum veni mane; quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi senatores convenerunt. Quae de te in senatu egerim, quae in contione maxima dixerim, aliorum te litteris malo cognoscere: illud tibi persuadeas velim, me omnia, quae ad tuam dignitatem augendam pertinebunt, quae est per se amplissima, summo semper studio suscepturum et defensurum; quod quamquam intellego me cum multis esse facturum, tamen adpetam huius rei principatum.

1. *Lupus*] cp. note to Fam. xi. 5, 1 (809). He returned to Rome probably on the evening of December 18.

litteras] This letter is lost (Andr.).

tuis laudibus . . . defuturum] 'neither advice nor exertions of mine shall ever be wanting to further your distinction.'

2. *edictum*] i.e. *se provinciam Galliam retenturum in senatus populi que Romani potestate* (Phil. iii. 8).

3. *frequentissimi*] We are inclined to

think that this is a rhetorical exaggeration. The house to which the third Philippic was addressed was probably a small one: cp. note to Fam. xii. 22, 3 (813).

Quae . . . dixerim] 'the remarks I made about you in the senate, the speech I made about you in the crowded meeting,' i.e. Phil. iii. and iv.

suscepturum et defensurum] 'undertake to support,' hendiadys.

DCCCXIII. (FAM. XII. 22).

DCCCXIII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 22).

; AFTER DECEMBER 20; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero exponit de statu rei p. post Caesaris interitum et Q. Cornificium ne
ciam sine senatus consulto tradat hortatur.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

. Nos hic cum homine gladiatore omnium nequissimo, collega
ro, Antonio, bellum gerimus, sed non pari condicione, contra
a verbis. At etiam de te contionatur, nec impune; nam
et, quos lacessierit. Ego autem acta ad te omnia arbitror
scribi ab aliis; a me futura debes cognoscere, quorum quidem
est difficilis coniectura. 2. Oppressa omnia sunt, nec habent
m boni, nostrique tyrannoctoni longe gentium absunt. Pansa
entit bene et loquitur fortiter; Hirtius noster tardius con-
scit. Quid futurum sit, plane nescio; spes tamen una est
endo populum Romanum maiorem similem fore. Ego certe

absit, animo forti feram; illud profecto, quoad potero: tuam famam et dignitatem tuebor. 3. A. d. XIII. K. Ian. senatus frequens mihi est adsensus cum de ceteris rebus magnis et necessariis, tum de provinciis ab iis, qui obtinerent, retinendis neque cuiquam tradendis, nisi qui ex senatus consulto successisset. Hoc ego cum rei publicae causa censui, tum mehercule in primis retinendae dignitatis tuae; quam ob rem te amoris nostri causa rogo, rei publicae causa hortor, ut ne cui quicquam iuris in tua provincia esse patiari atque ut omnia referas ad dignitatem, qua nihil esse potest praestantius. 4. Vere tecum agam, ut necessitudo nostra postulat: in Sempronio, si meis litteris obtemperasses, maximam ab omnibus laudem adeptus esses; sed illud et praeteriit et levius est, haec magna res est: fac ut provinciam retineas in potestate rei publicae. Plura scripsissem, nisi tui festinarent. Itaque Chaerippo nostro me velim excuses.

illud profecto] sc. *faciam*—a common ellipse: cp. Att. viii. 11, 1 (342), *illud profecto totos dies* (sc. *facio*).

3. *frequens*] So Graevius, Schütz, Mendelssohn. The mss have *aut frequens*. Klotz, Baiter, and Wesenberg alter to *haud infrequens*; Orelli gives *sat frequens*. We think it possible that the right reading is *haud frequens*. We might infer that the house to which Cicero addressed the third Philippic, and which he persuaded to adopt the motion with which that speech ends (§§ 37-39), was probably not very large, when we remember that the senate at this time contained a considerable number of creatures of Antony: cp. Lange, R. A. iii. 519, 520. It is in keeping with the generally subdued tone of this letter that Cicero should speak less warmly of the attendance at the senate than he did when he was relating to D. Brutus the motions it passed in his favour, Fam. xi. 6, 3 (812). However, perhaps it is safer to suppose that *aut* arose from ditto-graphy of *senat*.

ne cui] Antony had sent Calvisius Sabinus to take the province of Africa from Cornificius: cp. Phil. iii. 26, and note to Fam. xii. 23, 1 (792).

atque] cp. Roby, § 2200, 'An affirmative sentence following a negative sentence, and expressing the same general meaning, is joined by *et*, *ac*, *-que*, not, as in English, by an adversative conjunction: cp. Caes. B. G. iv. 35, 2; Tusc. i. 71.'

ut omnia referas ad dignitatem] 'and be guided in every action by regard for your position.'—Watson, comparing Att. viii. 11, 1 (342).

4. *Sempronio*] Perhaps this is the Sempronius Rufus mentioned in Fam. viii. 8, 1 (223). We do not know anything about the matter to which Cicero is referring. Cornificius would appear to have acknowledged that he was in the wrong: cp. Fam. xii. 25, 3 (825).

illud et praeteriit] 'that too is past and gone,' a phrase used of a circumstance which, unhappily, cannot be recalled: cp. Fam. xii. 3, 1 (791).

Chaerippo] This Chaerippus was in the train of Quintus Cicero during his governorship of Asia, cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 14 (30), and was also a friend of Marcus: cp. Fam. xii. 30, 3 (899), *Chaerippus. O hominem semper illum quidem mihi aptum, nunc vero etiam suavem*; Att. iv. 7, 1 (111); y. 4, 2 (187).

DCCCXIV. (FAM. XVI. 26).

CXIV. QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 26).

OME (?); AUTUMN (?); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. Q. CIC. 58.

Cicero accusat familiariter Tironem de intermissione litterarum quas eum etiam gumento ad se dare iubet.

Q. TIRONI SUO PLUR. SAL. DIC.

1. Verberavi te cogitationis tacito dumtaxat convicio, quod culus alter ad me iam sine tuis litteris perlatus est. Non effugere huius culpa poenam te patrono: Marcus est adhi-
us, isque diu et multis lucubrationibus commentata oratione ut probare possit te non peccasse. 2. Plane te rogo, sicut matrem nostram facere nemini, quae lagonas etiam inanes gnabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent ecatae, sic tu, etiamsi quod scribas non habebis, scribito tamen, artum cessationis quaesivisse videaris; valde enim mihi semper

DCCCXV. QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 27).

ROME; DECEMBER (END); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. Q. CIC. 58.

Q. Cicero invehitur in Pansam et Hirtium consules designatos. Benevolentiam suam Tironi significat.

Q. CICERO TIRONI SUO SAL. PLURIMAM DICIT.

1. Mirificam mihi verberationem cessionis epistola tua dedisti: nam, quae parcius frater perscripserat, verecundia videlicet et properatione, ea tu sine adsentatione, ut erant, ad me scripsisti, et maxime de consulibus designatis, quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos; qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est. 2. Incredibile est, quae ego illos sciam oppositis Gallorum castris in aestivis fecisse, quos ille latro, nisi aliquid firmitus fuerit,

This letter was most probably written at the end of December, as it attacks the consuls elect, and maintains that no good is to be expected from their administration, in a tone which indicates that they are on the point of entering on the duties of their office.

1. *Mirificam*] 'Sententia haec est: mirifice me cessantem verberasti accurata tua epistola,' Bücheler (Q. Ciceronis rell. p. 66).

tua] added by Wesenberg (E. A. 59), because *epistola* by itself cannot mean 'by letter,' as *litteris* does.

adsentatione] 'softening down.'

libidinum . . . plenos] 'full of vices and womanish weakness of mind.' Ernesti supposes that *animi* arose from dittography of the last few letters of *effeminatissimi*, and the word is omitted in Pal. But it is better to retain it. Hirtius had been seriously ill for a long time, and was only slowly recovering, cp. Fam. xii. 22, 1 (813), and Pansa appears to have been indolent, and addicted to wine: cp. Att. xvi. 1, 4 (769).

2. *sciam*] The mss give *scio*. In an admirable note Wesenberg (E. A. 59) points out that we must either omit *est*, or read *sciam*. In the former case the

construction will be like Att. xiii. 40, 2 (660), *mirum quantum inimicus ibat*; Ter. Phorm. ii. 1, 17, *incredibile quantum herum anteo sapientia*; Hor. Carm. i. 27, 3; Roby, § 1647. We cannot adduce the familiar phrases *sane quam, valde quam, mire quam*, because *incredibile* cannot be taken as an adverb, the regular form being *incredibiliter*: cp. Att. viii. 7, 1 (338).

fecisse] We do not know what enormities Hirtius and Pansa can have committed in the summer quarters in Gaul.

quos ille latro] 'whom that ruffian (Antony), unless a firm stand is made, will entice to his side, by companionship in their vices. The state must be fortified by the intervention either of the tribunes, or of private individuals. For as to those two creatures, they are scarcely fit to be entrusted, the one (Hirtius) with the guardianship of Caesena, the other with the basement of the taverns of Cossutius.' We cannot be sure as to the point of the last sentence, so that the withering sarcasm is lost to us. Caesena was a small town in Cisalpine Gaul, on the Rubicon: Hirtius is so feeble, that he could not conduct the administration of that town, much less the government of the whole

DCCCXV. (FAM. XVI. 27).

ate vitiorum deleniet. Res est aut tribuniciis aut privatis
iis munienda; nam isti duo vix sunt digni, quibus alteri
nam, alteri Cossutianarum tabernarum fundamenta credas.
t dixi, fero *in oculis*. Ego vos a. d. III. K. videbo tuosque
si te veniens in medio foro videro, dissaviabor. Me ama.

re. Pansa, being addicted to wine,
not safely be entrusted with the
of Cossutius, who would seem to
been a tavern-keeper in the same

[. . . fero *in oculis*] 'As I said, you
apple of my eye': cp. Q. Fr. iii.
148), *Balbus vero . . . in oculis*
Phil. vi. 11; Ter. Eun. iii. 1, 11;
vi. 2, 5 (256), *publicanis in oculis*
Tusc. ii. 63. We must add *in*
Ernesti. Otto (p. 249) says the

Greeks use the phrase *ἐπὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*
περιφέρειν, but we are unable to find a
passage in which it occurs. For some-
what similar expressions cp. Fam. i. 9,
10 (153), *sic amplexabantur, sic in mani-*
bus habebant, sic ferebant; Q. Fr. ii. 11
(13), 1 (135), *in sinu fero*.

[K.] sc. *Ianuarias*.

tuosque] sc. *oculos*.

dissaviabor] 'bury in kisses': cp. note
to Fam. v. 10, 1 (696). The prefix *dis-*
is intensive, as in *discupio dispereo*.

LETTERS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH AND LAST YEAR OF
CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. DCCCXVI.-DCCCCXVI.

A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

COSS. C. VIBIUS PANSA; A. HIRTIUS.

THE crowded events of this exciting year—the embassy to Antony, the death of Sulpicius, the gradual development of the war in North Italy, the Battle of Forum Gallorum, the release of D. Brutus, the Battle of Mutina, the deaths of the consuls, the joy at Rome as of victory secured, the escape of Antony, his junction with Ventidius, the renewal of alarm among the patriots, the treachery of Lepidus, the vacillation of Octavian, and amidst all these, the unswerving loyalty, devotion, courage, energy, high spirit, magnanimity of Cicero, who deserves every honour for having nobly taken the post of leader of the forlorn hope of the Republic—almost seem to be rushing before us, as we read the correspondence of Cicero and his friends. We have attempted to trace these events in detail in the Introduction. The last ten Philippics belong to this year, but no other literary works.

DCCCXVI. (FAM. XI. 8).

DCCCXVI. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 8).

3; JANUARY (TOWARDS END); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero D. Bruto scribit de legatis ad Antonium de pace missis et de recuperatione libertatis spe in D. Bruto posita.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Eo tempore Polla tua misit, ut ad te, si quid vellem, darem. Ego enim, cum, quid scriberem, non habebam; omnia enim erant incerta propter expectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent nondum nuntiabatur. Haec tamen scribenda existimavi: primum, quod cum populumque Romanum de te laborare non solum salutis causa, sed etiam dignitatis tuae; admirabilis enim est quae tui nominis caritas amorque in te singularis omnium civium: nihil sperant atque confidunt, ut antea rege, sic hoc tempore pro te rem publicam liberaturum. 2. Romae dilectus habetur, quia Italiae, si hic dilectus appellendus est, cum ultro se offerunt

DCCCXVII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 24).

ROME ; JANUARY (TOWARDS END) ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Cornificium, ut omni cura in rem publicam incumbat, hortatur. De legatis ad Antonium missis scribit. Pinarium commendat.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Ego nullum locum praetermitto—nec enim debeo—non modo laudandi tui, sed ne ornandi quidem ; sed mea studia erga te et officia malo tibi ex tuorum litteris quam ex meis esse nota. Te tamen hortor, ut omni cura in rem publicam incumbas : hoc est animi, hoc est ingenii tui, hoc eius spei, quam habere debes, amplificandae dignitatis tuae. 2. Sed hac de re alias ad te pluribus : cum enim haec scribebam, in exspectatione erant omnia ; nondum legati redierant, quos senatus non ad pacem deprecandam, sed ad denuntiandum bellum miserat, nisi legatorum nuntio paruisset. Ego tamen, ut primum occasio data est, meo pristino more rem publicam defendi ; me principem senatui populoque Romano professus sum, nec postea, quam suscepi causam libertatis, minimum tempus amisi tuendae salutis libertatisque communis. Sed haec quoque te ex aliis malo. 3. T. Pinarium, familiarissimum meum, tanto tibi studio commendo, ut maiore non possim ; cui

1. *non modo laudandi*] 'not only of praising you, but even of conferring distinctions upon you.' Merely to praise Cornificius would not be any great sign of devotion, but to move in the senate that honours be conferred on him was a sign that Cicero took a lively interest in his advancement. For *ornare* cp. Fam. xv. 4, 11 (238), *qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornasti*. Gronovius reads *non modo ornandi tui sed ne laudandi quidem*, which would mean that Cicero not only furthered the interests of Cornificius by motions in his honour, and generally in all public matters, but he even took every opportunity possible of indirectly praising him. This is a possible interpretation, but not sufficiently necessary to justify a change in the order of the words.

hoc est animi] 'This is what is worthy of your spirit.'

2. *alias ad te pluribus*] sc. *scribam*,

cp. 930 ; also Fam. vii. 30, 2 (694). For *verbis* omitted cp. Sall. Jug. 17, 2, *quam paucissimis absolvam*, and 'in few' in Shakespeare, e.g. *Tempest*, act i. sc. 2, 144, 'In few, they hurried us aboard a bark.'

in exspectatione erant omnia] 'there was a general state of suspense': cp. note on 808, 3.

legati] They left Rome on January 5, and returned not later than February 2. Their return was expected in about twenty days (Phil. vi. 16), but they were delayed, probably by the illness and death of Servius Sulpicius.

defendi] So MH, a perfectly satisfactory reading (cp. Lehmann 26 for similar asyndeta). Ernesti and Baiter needlessly alter to *defendendi*.

3. *T. Pinarium*] A good friend to Cicero, who writes *is homo semper me delectavit*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 22 (148): cp. Att. vi. 1, 23 (252); viii. 15, 1 (360).

DCCCXVIII. (FAM. XII. 4).

propter omnes virtutes, tum etiam propter studia communia
amicissimus. Is procurat rationes negotiaque Dionysii nostri,
et tu multum amas et ego omnium plurimum : ea tibi ego
debeo commendare, sed commendo tamen. Facies igitur, ut
narii, gratissimi hominis, litteris tuum et erga illum et erga
ysium studium perspiciamus.

DCCCXVIII. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 4).

E; FEBRUARY 2 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

ero Antonium Caesari superstitem esse dolet. Addit de senatu, de populo, de
ad Antonium, de Dolabella.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

. Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses : reliquiarum
fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem
er ceteros me : quamquam egregios consules habemus, sed
ssimos consulares ; senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque
re fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius.

Italiaque universa; nihil autem foedius Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius; qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex senatus sententia certas res nuntiarent, cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata rettulerunt: itaque ad nos concurritur, factique iam in re salutari populares sumus. 2. Sed tu quid ageres, quid acturus, ubi denique esses, nesciebam: fama nuntiabat te esse in Syria; auctor erat nemo. De Bruto, quo propius est, eo firmiora videntur esse quae nuntiantur. Dolabella valde vituperabatur ab hominibus non insulis, quod tibi tam cito succederet, cum tu vixdum xxx. dies in Syria fuisses; itaque constabat eum recipi in Syriam non oportere. Summa laus et tua et Bruti est, quod exercitum praeter spem existimamini comparasse. Scriberem plura, si rem causamque nossem: nunc quae scribo, scribo ex opinione hominum atque fama. Tuas litteras avide exspecto. Vale.

the most vigorous,' i.e. the *quaestorii*, *aedilicii*, and *praetorii*, not the *consulares*.

foedius] 'more disgraceful'; *flagitiosius*, 'more scandalous.'

certas res] cp. Phil. vi. 4, *mittuntur enim qui nuntient ne oppugnet consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne provinciam depopuletur, ne dilectus habent, sit in senatus populiue Romani potestate*. Cp. also vii. 26, *ad Brutum adeundi legatis potestatem fecerit, exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem eduxerit, nec propius urbem millia passuum ducenta admoverit*. The use of *nuntient* in Phil. vi. 4 shows that there is no necessity here to alter the mss reading into *<de>nuntient* with Gronovius and Mendelssohn.

ultro] 'actually.' Often used when the tables are turned, and the exact opposite of what is intended takes place: cp. Tac. Hist. ii. 25, *l'itelliani temere exurgentes, cedente sensim Celso, longius secuti ultro in insidias praecipitantur* ('it was they who fell into the ambush').

factique iam in re salutari populares sumus] 'and in a really sound measure I find myself at last a popular hero.'—(Jeans). That motions which please the people are seldom sound is an article of the aristocratic creed. Watson appositely compares Phil. vii. 4, *me quidem semper, uti scitis, adversarium multitudinis temeri-*

tati haec fecit praeclearissima causa popularem.

2. *te esse in Syria*] see Adn. Crit.

auctor erat nemo] 'There is no definite authority.'

Bruto] i.e. Marcus Brutus, who was now in Macedonia.

Dolabella valde vituperabatur] 'Dolabella is severely criticised by some witty fellows for being in such a hurry to act as your successor, though you had not been quite a month in Syria.' By the Cornelian law, Fam. iii. 6, 3 (213), the governor was allowed to remain in his province thirty days after his year of office expired before his successor took up the reins of government (cp. vol. iii., p. 302). Dolabella did not give Cassius the thirty days, much less the year and thirty days. Really, exclaim the wits, Dolabella is acting most unfairly in not allowing Cassius to have his month's grace: indeed, it is quite plain that on this ground Cassius should assert his rights, and not allow Dolabella to enter Syria. The satire consisted in ignoring the year's tenure of the province to which Cassius was entitled.

rem causamque] 'the circumstances of the case': cp. Fam. ii. 6, 5 (177). In N. D. i. 2, it means 'the matter in dispute.'

DCCCXIX. (FAM. X. 28).

DCCCXIX. CICERO TO TREBONIUS (FAM. X. 28).

E; FEBRUARY 2 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero C. Trebonio scribit se dolere, quod non una in C. Caesarem iuraverit, ut Antonium simul cum illo opprimeret, qui nunc tantas turbas faciat, suumque satis recuperandae studium declarat.

CICERO TREBONIO SAL.

. Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis
casses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus: at nunc cum iis tantum
otii est, ut vestrum illud divinum *in* rem publicam beneficium
nullam habeat querelam. Quod vero a te, viro optimo,
ctus est tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum,
l mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor: mihi enim negotii plus
quisti uni quam praeter me omnibus. Ut enim primum post
onii foedissimum discessum senatus haberi libere potuit, ad
n animum meum reverti pristinum, quem tu cum civi acer-

acerrime senatumque iam languentem et defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi magis animi quam ingenii viribus. Hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae; nec vero ipse postea tempus ullum intermisi de re publica non cogitandi solum, sed etiam agendi. 3. Quod nisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem, quamquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus. Sed illa cognosces ex aliis; a me pauca, et ea summatim: habemus fortem senatum, consulares partim timidos, partim male sentientes. Magnum damnum factum est in Servio. L. Caesar optime sentit, sed, quod avunculus est, non acerrimas dicit sententias. Consules egregii; praeclarus D. Brutus; egregius puer Caesar, de quo spero equidem reliqua. Hoc vero certum habeto, nisi ille veteranos celeriter conscripsisset legionesque duas de exercitu Antonii ad eius se auctoritatem contulissent atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris, nihil crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse. Haec tibi, etsi audita esse arbitrabar, volui tamen notiora esse. Plura scribam, si plus otii habuero.

Antonians. In that speech votes were passed in honour of D. Brutus and Octavian: and it was moved that the decrees for the government of the provinces, passed at the instance of Antony, should be regarded as invalid. For example of a political speech, delivered when unimportant matters of administration (e.g. *de via Appia, de Moneta, de Lupercis*) were the proposed topics for discussion, cp. Phil. vii. init.

magis animi quam ingenii viribus] 'more by energy than by argument.' In the margin of M, by a fifteenth-century hand, is written *sile, obsecro*, perhaps a reflection on Cicero's boastfulness.

meaque contentio atque actio] 'and my exertions and pleading.'

libertatis recuperandae] cp. 825, 2 (of the same speech, viz. the third Philippic), *fundamenta ieci rei publicae*.

3. *timidos*] 'cowards'; *male sentientes*, 'traitors.'

Servio] sc. Servius Sulpicius, who died on the embassy to Antony: cp. vol. iv., pp. lxxvii-lxxix.

avunculus] i.e. of Mark Antony. He was brother of Julia, the mother of Antony: cp. Phil. viii. 1, *Vicit L. Caesaris (sententia), qui verbi atrocitate dempta oratione fuit quam sententia lenior: quamquam is quidem, antequam sententiam diceret, propinquitatem excusavit*.

duas] i.e. the Fourth and the Martian. For this whole section, cp. Phil. iii. 3-7.

DCCCXX. (FAM. IX. 24).

DCCCXX. CICERO TO PAETUS (FAM. IX. 24).

E; FEBRUARY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Rufum a L. Paeto commendatum sibi curae fore ostendit, ut Paetus ad eorum convictum redeat hortatur, nihilque sibi re publica carius esse adfirmat.

CICERO PAETO S. D.

1. Rufum istum, amicum tuum, de quo iterum iam ad me scribis, adiuvarem, quantum possem, etiam si ab eo laesus essem, a te tanto opere viderem eius causa laborare; cum vero et ex litteris et ex illius ad me missis intellegam et iudicem magnae me ei salutem meam fuisse, non possum ei non amicus esse; neque solum tua commendatione, quae apud me, ut debet, valet maximum, sed etiam voluntate ac iudicio meo. Volo enim te scire, mi Paete, initium mihi suspicionis et cautionis et diligentiae esse litteras tuas, quibus litteris congruentes fuerunt aliae postea eorum: nam et Aquini et Fabrateriae consilia sunt inita de

proficiebas, quid nunc te facturum putem? Spurrinna quidem, cum ei rem demonstrassem et vitam tuam superiorem exposuissem, magnum periculum summae rei publicae demonstrabat, nisi ad superiorem consuetudinem tum, cum Favonius flaret, revertisses; hoc tempore ferri posse, si forte tu frigus ferre non posses. 3. Sed mehercule, mi Paete, extra iocum moneo te, quod pertinere ad beate vivendum arbitror, ut cum viris bonis, iucundis, amantibus tui vivas: nihil est aptius vitae, nihil ad beate vivendum accomodatius. Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitae atque victus remissionemque animorum, quae maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus, ut sapientius nostri quam Graeci: illi *συνπόσια* aut *σύνδειπνα*, id est conpotationes aut concenationes, nos 'convivia,' quod tum maxime simul vivitur. Vides, ut te philosophando revocare coner ad cenas? cura ut valeas; id foris cenitando facillime consequere. 4. Sed cave, si me amas, existimes me, quod iocosius scribam,

Spurrinna] This was the augur who warned Caesar, shortly before his assassination, that his life was in danger.

magnum . . . rei publicae] 'that the whole state would incur serious danger if you did not return to your old custom at the first breath of Favonius; that just for the present (your way of life) can perchance be endured if you are unable to endure the cold weather.' The joke, that the safety of the state depended on the dining-out of Paetus is, like many of Cicero's jokes, somewhat trying. However, we can admire the buoyancy of Cicero, when he had the heart to 'chaff' at all, in the midst of the hopes and fears of his political position: cp. 824, 6 (Pollio), *Invideo illi* (sc. Cornelius Gallus) *quod ambulat et iocatur tibi*. Spring was considered to have begun when Favonius commenced to blow; this took place on February 7, according to Columella (xi. 2, 15); on the 8th, according to Pliny (H. N. ii. 122); and on the 10th, according to Ovid (Fast. ii. 149).

3. *extra iocum*] cp. Fam. vii. 16, 2 (157), *sed mehercules, extra iocum, homo bellus est*, and vii. 11, 3 (167), *remoto ioco*.

nihil est aptius vitae] 'Life has nothing that fits it better: nothing is more suitable to make one live happily. And I do not urge this on account of the mere gratification to the palate, but on account

of the association in life and living which it brings about, and the relaxation of mind which friendly conversation especially induces. This appears in its pleasantest form at convivial gatherings, so that we Romans judge more wisely than the Greeks, in that, while they call them *συνπόσια*, or *σύνδειπνα*, 'drinkings together,' or 'dinings together,' we call them 'convivial gatherings' (that is, 'livings together'), because then only do we really live with one another.' Cp. on the passage as a whole Sen. 45, *neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus matiebar; bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum conpotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur*.

Graeci] sc. iudicent. For the ellipse cp. Fin. i. 61; Legg. ii. 26; Att. xiii. 40, 1 (660), *ne is quidem . . . bene de nostro*; Q. Fr. ii. 15, 5 (147), quoted by Heidemann, p. 75.

σύνδειπνα] sc. vocant. For ellipse cp. 805, 3, *mihi non est dubium quin, quod Graeci καθήκον, nos officium*.

foris cenitando] cp. Fam. vii. 16, 2 (157).

DCCCXXI. (FAM. XII. 5).

uisse curam rei publicae. Sic tibi, mi Paete, persuade, me dies
octes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvi
rique sint: nullum locum praetermitto monendi, agendi, pro-
ndi; hoc denique animo sum, ut, si in hac cura atque
ministratione vita mihi ponenda sit, praeclare actum mecum
m. Etiam atque etiam vale.

DCCCXXI. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 5).

ROME; FEBRUARY (TOWARDS END); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;
AET. CIC. 63.

C. Cicero M. Brutum laudat eiusque exemplum Cassio imitandum proponit, addit
utinensi bello ac de rei publicae statu.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

I. Hiemem credo adhuc prohibuisse, quo minus de te certum
eremus, quid ageres maximeque ubi esses; loquebantur omnes
an credo, quod volebant, in Syria te esse, habere series. Id

usque ad Aegyptum optimorum civium imperiis muniti erimus et copiis. 2. Quamquam, nisi me fallebat, res se sic habebat, ut totius belli omne discrimen in D. Bruto positum videretur, qui si, ut sperabamus, erupisset Mutina, nihil belli reliquum fore videbatur. Parvis omnino iam copiis obsidebatur, quod magno praesidio Bononiam tenebat Antonius. Erat autem Claternae noster Hirtius, ad Forum Cornelium Caesar, uterque cum firmo exercitu; magnasque Romae Pansa copias ex dilectu Italiae compararat. Hiemps adhuc rem geri prohibuerat. Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Praeter Bononiam, Regium Lepidi, Parmam, totam Galliam tenebamus studiosissimam rei publicae; tuos etiam clientes Transpadanos mirifice coniunctos cum causa habebamus. Erat firmissimus senatus exceptis consularibus, ex quibus unus L. Caesar firmus est et rectus. 3. Ser. Sulpicii morte magnum praesidium amisimus. Reliqui partim inertes, partim improbi; nonnulli invident eorum laudi, quos in re publica probari vident; populi vero Romani totiusque Italiae mira consensus est. Haec erant fere, quae tibi

a prima enim ora] cp. Phil. x. 10, *exteræ nationes a prima ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum et fortissimorum civium imperiis et praesidiis tenentur.* For *prima ora*, 'the extremity of the shore,' cp. Fam. iii. 6, 2 (213), *prima provincia*, and note there. To the examples there given add N. D. i. 20, *primis labris*.

optimorum . . . copiis] 'we are defended by generals and soldiers who are most loyal citizens and staunch patriots.'

2. *fallebat]* The tenses of this and the other verbs in the paragraph belong to epistolary style.

Claternae] This town, now Quaderna, was about ten miles south-east of Bononia. Forum Cornelium (now Imola) was about thirteen miles south-east of Claterna. Regium Lepidi (or Lepidum), now Reggio, was about fifteen miles north-west of Mutina. All these places are on the Aemilian road. For Claterna cp. Non. 394, 7, *spurcum vehemens, asperum.* M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. i., 'Cum iter facerem ad Liqumiam (Hirtium Roth Aquilam Gurlitt) Claternam tempestate spurcissima,' cp. 'foul' and 'dirty,' used of the weather. This letter was really written by Octavian: cp. Gurlitt (Nonius, p. 12).

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rem geri] 'any action.'

Praeter Bononiam . . . rei publicae] cp. Phil. x. 10, *tria tenet oppida toto in orbe terrarum: habet inimicissimam Galliam: eos etiam, quibus confidebat, alienissimos Transpadanos: Italia omnis infesta est.*

clientes Transpadanos] We do not hear elsewhere that Cassius was patron of the Transpadanes. Watson notices it as strange that they should now be devoted to the Optimates, as Julius Caesar was the statesman who was mainly instrumental in gaining for them the rights of citizenship by the Lex Julia in 705 (49). But the loyalty of these new citizens, as of the provincials generally, was rather to Rome and the actual government there for the time being than to any individual Roman.

Firmissimus] 'most resolute'; *rectus*, 'upright,' rarely used in this sense of persons: cp. Plin. Epp. ii. 11, 5, *vir rectus et sanctus*.

3. *Ser. Sulpicii]* cp. note to 819, 3.

Reliqui . . . vident] 'The rest are deficient, partly in energy, partly in principle; some envy the praise bestowed on those who they see have gained credit in the government.' Cicero probably refers to himself as the object of this envy.

F

DCCCXXII. (FAM. XII. 11).

esse vellem; nunc autem opto, ut ab istis Orientis partibus
tis tuae lumen eluceat. Vale.

DCCCXXII. CASSIUS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 11).

P AT TARICHEA; MARCH 7; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cassius M. Ciceroni a quibus copias acceperit significat seseque et rem publicam
endat.

C. CASSIUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI.

. S. v. b. e. e. q. v. In Syriam me profectum esse scito ad L.
cum et Q. Crispum imperatores: viri fortes optimique cives,
eaquam audierunt quae Romae gererentur, exercitus mihi
iderunt ipsique mecum una fortissimo animo rem publicam
ministrant. Item legionem, quam Q. Caecilius Bassus habuit,
me venisse scito, quattuorque legiones, quos A. Allienus ex
ypto eduxit, traditas ab eo mihi esse scito. 2. Nunc te coh-

DCCCXXIII. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 7).

ROME; MARCH 6 OR 7 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero C. Cassio significat sententiam a se in senatu secundum dignitatem Cassii dictam eandemque in contione defensam.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Quanto studio dignitatem tuam et in senatu et ad populum defenderim, ex tuis te malo quam ex me cognoscere; quae mea sententia in senatu facile valuisset, nisi Pansa vehementer obstitisset. Ea sententia dicta productus sum in contionem a tribuno pl. M. Servilio: dixi de te, quae potui, tanta contentione, quantum forum est, tanto clamore consensuque populi, ut nihil umquam simile viderim. Id velim mihi ignoscas quod invita socru tua fecerim: mulier timida verebatur ne Pansae animus offenderetur. In contione quidem Pansa dixit matrem quoque tuam et fratrem illam a me sententiam noluisse dici; sed me haec non movebant; alia malebam: favebam et rei publicae, cui semper favi, et digni-

This letter was written shortly after the delivery of the Eleventh Philippic. The approximate date of that speech can be derived from the letter of Antony to Hirtius and Octavian which Cicero criticises in Phil. xiii. (delivered March 20). In that letter allusion is made to a decree of the senate which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and that decree was passed the day before the delivery of Phil. xi. (cp. § 16). It would take about six days for news to reach Mutina from Rome, so that we can hardly suppose that Dolabella was declared a public enemy later than March 7. Nor can we suppose that the decree was passed very much earlier, for M. Brutus, who was in Macedonia, had not, on April 1, received any letter from Cicero relating how the news of the murder of Trebonius had been received in Rome (cp. 837, 1). See Schmidt Cass., pp. 34-7.

1. *in senatu*] i. e. Phil. xi. For Cicero's motion cp. § 30, *senatui placere C. Cassium pro consule provinciam Syrian*

obtinere uti qui optimo iure eam provinciam obtinuerit.

in contionem] This Philippic, addressed to the people, has been lost.

Servilio] a relative of Servilia, sister of Cato of Utica, and mother of Cassius's wife Tertulla, and of M. Brutus. She is the *socrus* mentioned below.

tanta . . . est] 'straining my voice till it reached over the whole forum.'

matrem] It is not known who she was.

fratrem] L. Cassius, who, as we have seen, obtained much applause at the games held nominally by C. Cassius in 710 (44): cp. Att. xiv. 2, 1 (704); 790, 2.

malebam] Cicero means: 'These considerations (sc. that your family objected) did not move me. I preferred other considerations (to influence me),' viz. 'that the cause I advocated tended to the advantage of the people and to your own glory.' Wessenberg and Krause alter to *valebant*, which makes the sentence

DCCCXXIV. (FAM. X. 31).

de gloriae tuae. 2. Quod autem et in senatu pluribus verbis
rui *et* dixi in contione, in eo velim fidem meam liberes;
isi enim et prope confirmavi te non exspectasse nec expec-
um decreta nostra, sed te ipsum tuo more rem publicam
asurum. Et, quamquam nihildum audieramus, nec ubi esses
quas copias haberes, tamen sic statuebam, omnes, quae in istis
bus essent opes copiaeque, tuas esse, per teque Asiam provin-
confidebam iam rei publicae recuperatam. Tu fac in augenda
a te ipse vincas. Vale.

CXXXIV. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (FAM. X. 31).

CORDUBA; MARCH 16; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Asinius Pollio se excusat, quod sero suum erga rem publicam studium declaret,
en percupidum libertatis recuperandae ostendit.

C. ASINIUS POLLIO CICERONI S. D.

. Minime mirum tibi debet videri nihil me scripsisse de re

tabellarios et retinent. Itaque nisi nave perlatae litterae essent, omnino nescirem, quid istio fieret. Nunc vero nactus occasionem, postea quam navigari coeptum est, cupidissime et quam creberrime potero scribam ad te. 2. Ne movear eius sermonibus, quem tametsi nemo est qui videre velit, tamen nequaquam proinde ac dignus est oderunt homines, periculum non est: adeo est enim invisus mihi, ut nihil non acerbum putem, quod commune cum illo sit; natura autem mea et studia trahunt me ad pacis et libertatis cupiditatem. Itaque illud initium civilis belli saepe deflevi; cum vero non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam, ea castra fugi, in quibus plane tutum me ab insidiis inimici sciebam non futurum; compulsus eo quo minime volebam, ne in extremis essem, plane pericula non dubitanter adii. 3. Caesarem vero, quod

examined both by Pollio's outposts and those of Lepidus, and that thus exceptional delay was caused. But Pollio would hardly complain of what was done by his own officers without making some excuse for it.

navigari coeptum est] Navigation began on March 5 (Veget. v. 9).

2. *eius*] The general opinion of editors is that *eius* refers to Antony. We may be almost sure that Pollio is alluding to some one whom Cicero mentioned in his letter to which this is an answer: so that we think Wieland and Mr. Jeans are probably right in supposing that the reference is to Balbus, the quaestor of Pollio, whose actions (at least as narrated in 896, 1-3) were those of a dangerous lunatic. Doubtless his madness had not become so violent at this time.

tametsi . . . tamen] For this redundancy cp. Q. Cic. Fam. xvi. 8, 1 (314); Petit. Cons. 32 (12); Cael. Fam. viii. 1, 1 (192); 5, 2 (210). Even Cicero himself, Fam. iv. 15, 2 (484); cp. Schmalz, pp. 34-5.

quem . . . videre velit] 'although there is nobody who can bear the sight of him': cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 120, *obscundus Marcella, qui se Voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris*.

proinde ac] cp. Plaut. Amph. ii. 1, 37 (583) where Professor Palmer notices that Plautus generally uses *proinde ut*; also Tusc. v. 6.

nihil non acerbum] All the mss give *non*; and, as it makes very fair sense, we have retained it, 'I hate everything I have to do in conjunction with him.'

Cobet ejects it, and thereby introduces what, in our opinion, is a most extravagant sentiment, 'I would be ready to suffer anything provided he shared it.'

studia] i.e. Pollio's historical studies: cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 1, 1.

nullius] For *neutrius*; as *quis* for *uter*: cp. Lehmann, p. 3, and Dräger i. 103, who quotes Att. xvi. 8, 1 (797), *quem (= utrum) autem sequamur*; 14, 1 (805)'; Fam. vii. 3, 1 (464), *quid (= utrum) esset optimum factu*.

ea castra] i.e. Pompey's.

inimici] Probably Gaius Porcius Cato, who was accused by Pollio in 700 (54) under the Lex Junia Licinia (vol. i. 3 p. 414), but acquitted: cp. Att. iv. 16, 5 (144). Pollio was only twenty years old at that time. This is the view of Zumpt (Criminalprocess, p. 537). Mr. Watson, however, suggests that the reference may be to Labienus: cp. Quintil. i. 5, 8, *et in oratione Labieni (sive illa Cornelii Galli est) in Pollionem*.

ne in extremis essem] 'lest I should be left completely in the background,' lit. 'among those in the extreme rear.' Wesenberg thinks that *plane* before *pericula* has crept into the text from the preceding line; but it was a favourite word of Pollio's (cp. § 5, 896, 1), so ought to be retained. Gitlbauer (p. 264) suggests *plurima*.

pericula] Plutarch (Caes. 32) says that Caesar, when on the banks of the Rubicon, consulted Pollio as to whether he should cross the river or not. Pollio also took a prominent part in the Battle of Pharsalia (App. ii. 82).

DCCCXXIV. (FAM. X. 31).

tanta fortuna modo cognitum vetustissimorum familiarium habuit, dilexi summa cum pietate et fide. Quae mea sententia mihi licuit, ita feci, ut optimus quisque maxime probarit; iussus sum, eo tempore atque ita feci, ut appareret invito ratum esse. Cuius facti iniustissima invidia erudire me potuit, iucunda libertas et quam misera sub dominatione vita esset. Id id agitur, ut rursus in potestate omnia unius sint, quicumque est, ei me profiteor inimicum; nec periculum est ullum, pro libertate aut refugiam aut deprecer. 4. Sed consules et senatus consulto neque litteris suis praeceperant mihi, quid facerem; unas enim post Idus Martias demum a Pansa litteras accepi, in quibus hortatur me, ut senatui scribam me et exercitum in potestate eius futurum: quod, cum Lepidus contionaretur omnibus scriberet se consentire cum Antonio, maxime conueniens fuit; nam quibus commeatibus invito illo per illius praesidium legiones ducere? Aut, si cetera transissem, numquam Alpes poteram transvolare, quae praesidio illius tenentur?

quod me . . . habuit] 'because, when at the height of his fortune, yet

Caes. B.G. vi. 12, 8; even Cicero, Verr. ii. 127; Tusc. v. 66.

quicumque] This according to Wölfflin.

Adde huc quod perferri litterae nulla condicione potuerunt; sescen-
tis enim locis excutiuntur, deinde etiam retinentur ab Lepido tabel-
larii. 5. Illud me Cordubae pro contione dixisse nemo vocabit
in dubium, provinciam me nulli, nisi qui ab senatu missus venisset,
traditurum: nam, de legione tricensima tradenda quantas conten-
tiones habuerim, quid ego scribam? Qua tradita quanto pro re
publica infirmior futurus fuerim, quis ignorat? Hac enim legione
noli acrius aut pugnacius quicquam putare esse. Qua re eum me
existima esse, qui primum pacis cupidissimus sim—omnes enim
cives plane studeo esse salvos—deinde qui et me et rem publicam
vindicare in libertatem paratus sim. 6. Quod familiarem meum
tuorum numero habes, opinione tua mihi gratius est; invidéo illi
tamen, quod ambulat et iocatur tecum. Quaeres, quanti *id* aesti-
mem? Si umquam licuerit vivere in otio, experieris; nullum
enim vestigium abs te discessurus sum. Illud vehementer admiror,
non scripsisse te mihi, manendo in provincia an ducendo exercitum

Adde huc quod] cp. Attius 209 (Ribb),
adde huc quod mihi portento caelestium
pater Prodigium misit, and often *adde quod*
in Lucr. i. 847; iii. 829.

excutiuntur] 'are examined,' 'searched.'
5. *pro contione*] 'in the meeting': cp.
Cic. quoted by Quintil. iv. 4, 8, also Fam.
iii. 8, 3 (222), *pro tribunali* and *pro*
rostris, pro aede.

dixisse] For the accusative and infini-
tive governed by a phrase of doubting:
cp. Trebonius, Fam. xii. 16, 2 (736), Cic.
fil. ap. Fam. xvi. 21, 2 (786) on which
passage see note. It belongs to the
language of ordinary life. Schmalz (p. 26)
thinks that the infinitival construction
is allowable when the phrase of doubting
follows the clause it governs: cp. Ter.
Hec. iii. 1, 44.

nemo] This is the most probable cor-
rection for the mss *ne*.

nulli] Stürenberg declares that neither
Cicero nor any of his correspondents,
except Pollio, uses *nulli* for *nemini*.
Schmalz (p. 39) refers to Att. ix. 14, 2
(372), according to the reading adopted
by most editors; but see our note.

nam] The argument is: 'No one will
doubt but that I will retain my province
when I resisted so strenuously the trans-
ference of one *legion*.'

legione] cp. 896, 4.
omnes salvos] As Watson
remarks, this was the regular plausible

argument of those who wished to come
to terms with Antony: cp. Phil. viii.
13, *Atque ais (Calene) eum te esse qui*
semper pacem optaris, semper omnes cives
volueris salvos; 885, 1 (from Lepidus to
the Senate) *quam nihil antiquius communi*
saluti ac libertati iudicarim. For *studeo*
with accusative and infinitive cp. Cic.
Fam. xiii. 19, 3 (514); Matius xi. 28,
2 (786).

6. *familiarem meum*]. This was the
poet Cornelius Gallus: cp. 896, 5, *etiam*
praetextam, si voles legere, Gallum Corne-
lium, familiarem meum, poscito.

tuorum numero] For in omitted Schmalz
(p. 21) compares Att. xi. 6, 6 (418), *hos-*
tium numero habebantur. But Cicero
sometimes adds it: cp. Att. xiv. 13, 2
(718).

opinione tua] 'than you think.'
Schmalz (p. 19) compares Plaut. Mil.
iv. 6, 23, *istuc curavi ut opinione illius*
pulchrior sis. Cicero generally says
opinionem alone: cp. Fam. xiv. 23 (443),
but also *omnium opinione* (Brut. 1).

iocatur] cp. note to 820, 2.

nullum vestigium] This accusative of
extent belongs to colloquial language:
cp. Plaut. Aul. i. 1, 18, *si digitum trans-*
versum aut unguem latum excesseris;
Bacch. iii. 3, 19; Att. xiii. 12, 3 (626),
16, 1 (629); 20, 4 (634); Fam. vii. 25, 2
(668). It is also found in Liv. xxvii. 4,
1, cp. Schmalz, pp. 16-17.

DCCCXXV. (FAM. XII. 25, §§ 1-5).

aliam rei publicae magis satis facere possim : ego quidem, etsi
tutius ac minus laboriosum est manere, tamen, quia video
tempore multo magis legionibus opus esse quam provinciis,
praesertim recipiari nullo negotio possunt, constitui, ut nune
um exercitu proficisci. Deinde ex litteris, quas Pansae misi,
osces omnia ; nam tibi earum exemplar misi. xvii. Kal.
. Corduba.

DCCCXXV. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS

(FAM. XII. 25, §§ 1-5).

ME. ABOUT MARCH 20 OR A LITTLE LATER ; A. U. C. 711 ;

B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

sententia Cornificii senatus consultum factum esse significat : ut in rem publicam
at hortatur : Luceio se nulla in re defuturum pollicetur.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

. Liberalibus litteras accepi tuas, quas mihi Cornificius altero
simo die, ut dicebat, reddidit : eo die non fuit senatus neque
ro. Quinquatribus frequenti senatu causam tuam egi non

invita Minerva: etenim eo ipso die senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, custos urbis, quam turbo deiecerat, restitueretur. Pansa tuas litteras recitavit: magna senatus adprobatio consecuta est cum summo meo gaudio et offensione Minotauri, id est Calvisii et Tauri; factum de te senatus consultum honorificum. Postulabatur, ut etiam illi notarentur; sed Pansa clementior. 2. Ego, mi Cornifici, quo die primum in spem libertatis ingressus sum et cunctantibus ceteris a. d. XIII. K. Ian. fundamenta ieci rei publicae, eo ipso die providi multum atque habui rationem dignitatis tuae; mihi enim est adsensus senatus de obtinendis provinciis; nec vero postea destiti labefactare eum, qui summa cum tua iniuria contumeliaque rei publicae provinciam absens obtinebat; itaque crebras vel potius cotidianas compellationes meas non tulit seque in urbem recepit invitus; neque solum spe, sed certa re iam et possessione deturbatus est meo iustissimo honestissimoque convicio. Te tuam

non invita Minerva] 'with the goddess herself propitious,' with an allusion to the proverbial saying *non invita Minerva* 'with skill and success,' lit. 'not against one's natural bent,' Off. i. 110: cp. Fam. iii. 1, 1 (181); Hor. A. P. 385, and Otto, p. 226.

Minerva nostra] This was the statue of Minerva which Cicero set up in the Capitol just before he went into exile: cp. Legg. ii. 42 (*Minervam*), *custodem urbis, violuri ab impiis passi non sumus, eamque ex nostra domo in ipsius patriae domum* (i.e. Capitolium) *detulimus*.

custos urbis] Pro Domo 144, *et te custos urbis Minerva, quae semper adiutrix consiliorum meorum, testis laborum exstitisti*.

cum summo meo gaudio] Some word like *meo* or *nostro* must be added.

offensione Minotauri . . . Tauri] 'vexation of the Minotaur, that is of Calvisius and Taurus.' T. Statilius Taurus had been nominated a legate to Calvisius on his appointment to the governorship of Africa in place of Cornificius. Taurus afterwards held the consulship twice in 717 (37) and 728 (26), he governed Africa in 718 (36), Dalmatia in 720 (34), and Tarraconensis in 725 (29). At the Battle of Actium he held command of the land forces of Octavian. C. Calvisius Sabinus was consul in 715 (39). Beyond the suggestion contained in the name Taurus we do not know what appropriateness the nickname *Minotaurus* had for

these men. Perhaps they worked together, and their action in the senate may have been peculiarly aggressive. It is just possible that *id est, Calvisii et Tauri* may be a gloss, and that the nickname had been given by Cornificius; but it is more probable that Cicero was explaining a nick-name which had originated at Rome.

senatus consultum] doubtless that confirming Cornificius in the government of Africa.

notarentur] 'censured'; something like 'named' in modern parliamentary language.

clementior] 'took a milder view.'

2. a. d. xiii. Kal. Ian.] December 20th the day on which Phil. iii. and iv. were delivered

eo ipso die . . . tuas] 'On that very day I looked far ahead and paid heed to your dignity.'

eum qui . . . obtinebat] i.e. Calvisius, who left his legates behind him at Utica while he himself returned to Rome: cp. note to 899, 7; also Phil. iii. 26.

compellationes] 'censures': cp. Phil. iii. 17, *nec sentis amens (Antonius) commendationem esse compellationem suam*.

sed certa re et possessione] 'from the actual holding and occupation of the position he had been dislodged by my most righteous and honourable invective.' The metaphor is a military one: cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 67, 4. For *spes* opp. to *res* cp. Orat. 107.

DCCCXXV. (FAM. XII. 25, §§ 1-5).

tatem summa tua virtute tenuisse provinciaeque honoribus
ssimis adfectum vehementer gaudeo.

Quod te mihi de Sempronio purgas, accipio excusationem;
nim illud [quoddam graecum] tempus servitutis. Ego, tuo-
consiliorum auctor dignitatisque fautor, iratus temporibus in
iam desperata libertate rapiebar, cum me etesiae quasi boni
relinquentem rem publicam prosequi noluerunt, austerque
sus maximo flatu me ad tribules tuos Regium rettulit, atque
ventis remis in patriam omni festinatione properavi postris
e in summa reliquorum servitute liber unus fui. 4. Sic sum
antonium invectus, ut ille non ferret omnemque suum vinulen-
torem in me unum effunderet meque tum elicere vellet ad
e causam, tum temptaret insidiis; quem ego ructantem et
antem conieci in Caesaris Octaviani plagas; puer enim

rum] 'presented with the highest
s from the province,' probably the
pal towns passed votes of congra-
n. For *adfectum* cp. Plaut. Amph.
8, *praedat agros adoriad qui adfecit*
res suos: 842, 2.
[Sempronio] We do not feel sure what
allusion here. Perhaps the decree

the original. Perhaps the word was an
adjective agreeing with *tempus* such as
νήλες; but it is more probable that what
Cicero wrote was, as Cobet (Mnem. viii.
1880, p. 192) suggests, *fuit enim illud*
δοῦλιον ἡμῶν over which was written a
gloss *tempus servitutis* which crept into
the text. Cicero may have been thinking

egregius praesidium sibi primum nobis, deinde summae rei publicae comparavit; qui nisi fuisset, Antonii reditus a Brundisio pestis patriae fuisset. Quae deinceps acta sint, scire te arbitror. 5. Sed redeamus illuc, unde devertimus: accipio excusationem tuam de Sempronio; neque enim statuti quid in tanta perturbatione habere potuisti.

Nunc hic dies aliam vitam defert, alios mores postulat,

ut ait Terentius. Quam ob rem, mi Quinte, conscende nobiscum, et quidem ad puppim: una navis est iam bonorum omnium, quam quidem nos damus operam ut rectam teneamus. Utinam prospero cursu! Sed quicumque venti erunt, ars nostra certe non aberit: quid enim praestare aliud virtus potest? Tu fac ut magno animo sis et excelso cogitesque omnem dignitatem tuam cum re publica coniunctam esse debere.

DCCCXXVI. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 6).

ROME; MARCH 20 (EVENING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus litteris ad senatum missis auctor pacis cum M. Antonio faciendae fuerat, quem M. Cicero his litteris ab illis partibus advocare studet.

CICERO PLANCO.

1. Quae locutus est Furnius noster de animo tuo in rem publicam, ea gratissima fuerunt senatui, populo Romano probatissima;

When Antony returned from Brundisium in October, Octavian had a sufficient force to over-awe him: cp. Phil. iii. 3, 10; iv. 2-6.

5. *statuti quid*] 'any well-established plan.'

Terentius] sc. Andr. i. 2, 18 (iamb. tetram.). The mes of Ter. give *adfert*. Cic. probably misquotes; but even so, we must not alter the mes reading in Cicero.

Una navis] The 'ship of state' is one of the commonest metaphors in all languages: cp. L. S. s. v. *gubernare*; Æsch. Theb. 2. For *rectam* cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 13 (53), and note there; Otto (p. 86) quotes Aristides, Rhod., p. 802, ἅλα, ὃ πορεῖδαν, ἰσθί, ὅτι ὁρῶν τὰν ναῦν καταδύσας; Ennius

(p. 70, Vahlen) *Dum clavum rectum teneam navemque gubernem*; Quintil. ii. 17, 24, *dicetque notum illud 'Dum clavum rectum teneam.'*

In 827 Lepidus is rebuked for a letter of similar import to that of Plancus which is here censured. The fact that no mention is made here or in 827 of the capture of C. Antonius—news of which had just reached Rome (842, 2, note)—is due, Ruete (p. 78) thinks, to the fact that the news would not be wholly agreeable to the Caesarians, Lepidus, and Plancus. In Phil. xiii. mention is made of the letter of Lepidus, but no mention of

DCCCXXVI. (FAM. X. 6).

autem recitatae litterae sunt in senatu, nequaquam consentire Furnii oratione visae sunt: pacis enim auctor eras, cum collega vir clarissimus, a foedissimis latronibus obsideretur, qui aut armis pacem petere debent aut, si pugnantes eam postulant, pax, non pactione parienda est. Sed de pace litterae vel tui vel tuae quam in partem acceptae sint, ex viro optimo, ex tuo, et ex C. Furnio poteris cognoscere. 2. Me autem tui caritas ut, quamquam nec tibi ipsi consilium deesset et Furniique benevolentia fidelisque prudentia tibi praestofutura, vellem tamen meae quoque auctoritatis pro plurimis necessitudinibus praeceptum ad te aliquod pervenire. Igitur mihi, Plance, omnes, quos adhuc gradus dignitatus adeptus sis—es autem adeptus amplissimos—eos honorumcula habituros, non dignitatis insignia, nisi te cum libertate i Romani et cum senatus auctoritate coniunxeris. Seiunge quaeso, aliquando ab iis, cum quibus te non tuum iudicium, temporum vincla coniunxerunt. 3. Complures in perturbatione publicae consulares dicti, quorum nemo consularis habitus sui animo exstitit in rem publicam consularis. Talem igitur oportet, qui primum te ab impiorum civium tui dissimili-

morum societate seiungas, deinde te senatui bonisque omnibus auctorem, principem, ducem praebeas, postremo ut pacem esse iudices non in armis positus, sed in abiecto armorum et servitutis metu. Haec si et ages et senties, tum eris non modo consul et consularis, sed magnus etiam consul et consularis: sin aliter, tum in istis amplissimis nominibus honorum non modo dignitas nulla erit, sed erit summa deformitas. Haec impulsus benevolentia scripsi paulo severius, quae tu in experiendo ea ratione, quae te digna est, vera esse cognosces. d. XIII. Kal. Apr.

DCCCXXVII. CICERO TO LEPIDUS (FAM. X. 27).

ROME; MARCH 20 (EVENING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero M. Lepidum obiurgat, quod summis honoribus ornatus a senatu gratias non egerit, et ne pacem cum Antonio inire velit hortatur.

CICERO LEPIDO SAL.

1. Quod mihi pro summa erga te benevolentia magnae curae est, ut quam amplissima dignitate sis, moleste tuli te senatui gratias non egisse, cum esses ab eo ordine ornatus summis honoribus. Pacis inter civis conciliandae te cupidum esse laetor: eam si a servitute seiungis, consules et rei publicae et dignitati tuae; sin ista pax perditum hominem in possessionem impotentissimi dominatus restitutura est, hoc animo scito omnes sanos, ut mortem

auctorem . . . ducem] 'a moving influence, a chief actor, a leader.' Note the climax.

ut] Note the slight change of construction from that of the relative.

sin aliter, tum] So H Pal; but M has *tu*, which Gitlbauer (p. 80) retains, putting the comma after *tu*, and understanding *ages et senties*.

deformitas] 'vileness.'

in experiendo . . . est] 'if you put them to the test in the only way that is worthy of yourself' (Jeans). Gitlbauer thinks we should omit *in* and alter to *eam rationem*. He supposes the omission of the stroke in *ratione* led to the other corruptions. Kleyn has *inila ratione*, 'if you reflect in a manner worthy of

yourself,' lit. 'if you enter on a course of reasoning.'

1. *pro summa . . . benevolentia*] 'in virtue of a strong regard towards you.' There is no necessity at all to add *mea*.

honoribus] A *supplicatio* had been voted to Lepidus in November (Phil. iii. 23), and a gilded statue and a triumph on January 1st (Phil. v. 41; xiii. 9).

seiungis] Wesenberg reads with some old edd. *seiunges*.

impotentissimi] 'most ungovernable tyranny.'

hoc animo] sc. *esse*. There is no need to add *esse* in the text. The ellipse is frequent after verbs, 'sentiendi et declarandi': cp. Heidemann, pp. 35 ff, who

DCCCXXVIII. (FAM. XII. 28).

tuti antepoſant. 2. Itaque ſapientius meo quidem iudicio
s, ſi te in iſtam pacificationem non interpones, quæ neque
ui neque populo nec cuiquam bono probatur. Sed hæc
es ex aliis aut certior fiet litteris: tu pro tua prudentia, quid
um factu ſit, videbis.

CXXVIII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 28).

; LATTER PART OF MARCH; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero nimiam Cornificii clementiam improbat: laudat eius in rem publicam
m: addit de pecunia et de re publica.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

. Adſentior tibi eos, quos ſcribis Lilybaeo minari, iſtic poenas
deuiſſe, ſed metuisti, ut ais, ne nimis liber in ulciſcendo
ere; metuisti igitur, ne gravis civis, ne nimis fortis, ne nimis
gnus viderere. 2. Quod ſocietatem rei publicæ conſervandæ

si absentibus consulibus umquam nisi ad rem novam cogeretur. Itaque nec de HS. XX. nec de HS. DCC. quicquam agi nunc per senatum potest; tibi autem ex senatus consulto imperandum mutuumve sumendum censeo. 3. In re publica quid agatur, credo te ex eorum litteris cognoscere, qui ad te acta debent perscribere. Ego sum spe bona; consilio, cura, labore non desum; omnibus inimicis rei publicae esse me acerrimum hostem prae me fero. Res neque nunc difficili loco mihi videsur esse et fuisset facillimo, si culpa a quibusdam afuisset.

si . . . cogeretur] 'if during the absence of the consuls, it were ever summoned except to consult on some pressing matter.' The senate was seldom called together during the absence of the consuls in the later times of the republic. In earlier times, when the consuls were absent with the army during the greater part of the year, this rule was of course not very strictly observed; though even then, in cases where delay was at all possible, the deliberations were postponed until the consuls returned, e.g. the conclusion of peace with Carthage, Liv. xxx. 23, 2: cp. Mommsen, St. R. iii. 911, note 4. The praetor urbanus summoned the senate when the consuls were absent: cp. 838, 3.

de HS. XX nec de HS. DCC] 'Your requests for grants of 20,000 sesterces and 700,000 cannot now be discussed in the senate.' These were probably two different grants for different purposes which Cornificius required. Mendelssohn

reads | XX | = 2,000,000, perhaps rightly.

tibi autem . . . censeo] 'I think that in accordance with the decree of the senate you ought to make requisitions for this or raise a loan.' The senatus consultum is probably the annual one which was passed de ornandis provinciis consularibus: cp. Willems Le Sénat, ii. 616, 755: cp. for similar powers granted to M. Brutus at the same time as the grant of the province, Phil. x. 26 and Mommsen St. R. iii. 1099.

3. acta] 'the public proceedings.' Cornificius had commissioned some friends, as Cicero had commissioned Caelius in 703 (51), to write to him an account of the principal public events which took place at Rome: cp. 813, 1.

si culpa . . . afuisset] 'if some people had not been blameworthy.' Cicero is probably thinking of the consulars Calenus, Piso, Servilius, and others: cp. 826, 3; 839, 3.

DCCCXXIX. (FAM. XII. 26).

CCXXIX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 26).

ROME ; SPRING ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

I. Cicero Q. Cornificio heredes Q. Turii de bonis in Africa relictis commendat.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Q. Turius, qui in Africa negotiatus est, vir bonus et honestus, heredes fecit similes sui, Cn. Saturninum, Sex. Aufidium, C. Trebonium, Q. Considium Gallum, L. Servilium Postumum, C. Rutilium : ex eorum oratione intellexi gratiarum actione eos magis commendare quam commendatione ; tanta enim liberalitate se tua usos commendabant, ut iis plus a te tributum intellegerem, quam ego te precarerem rogare ; audebo tamen ; scio enim, quantum ponderis meae commendatio sit habitura. 2. Qua re a te peto, ut ad eam liberalitatem, qua sine meis litteris usus es, quam maximus his litteris usus accedat : caput autem est meae commendationis, ne ignorem Erotem Turium, Q. Turii libertum, ut adhuc fecit, here-

DCCCXXX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 27).

ROME; SPRING; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio Sex. Aufidii equitis Romani Africana negotia commendat.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

Sex. Aufidius et observantia, qua me colit, accedit ad proximos, et splendore equiti Romano nemini cedit; est autem ita temperatis moderatisque moribus, ut summa severitas summa cum humanitate iungatur: cuius tibi negotia, quae sunt in Africa, ita commendo, ut maiore studio magisque ex animo commendare non possim. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam, ut is intellegat meas apud te litteras maximum pondus habuisse: hoc te vehementer, mi Cornifici, rogo.

DCCCXXXI. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 29).

ROME; SPRING; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio negotia L. Lamiae eius, qui olim, quod libere et fortiter salutem M. Ciceronis defenderat, ab A. Gabinio consule erat relegatus, summo opere commendat, eumque, quod suspectus fuerat Cornificio, excusat.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Non modo tibi, cui nostra omnia notissima sunt, sed neminem in populo Romano arbitror esse, cui sit ignota ea familiaritas, quae mihi cum L. Lamia est; etenim magno theatro spectata est tum,

Sex. Aufidius] He was one of the heirs of Turius: cp. 829, 1.

accedit ad proximos] 'comes near to my closest friends.'

splendore] cp. Vell. ii. 88, 2, *C. Maecenas equestri sed splendido genere natus*. The distinction between the different classes of knights is not a very definitely marked one under the republic; under the empire those knights who possessed the senatorial census, but remained within the equestrian rank from choice (as Maecenas did), and who held high imperial

offices, were considered somewhat superior (*equites illustres, primores, splendidi*) to the ordinary knights.

est autem ita temperatis] 'His character is so happily blended and ordered that the greatest strictness is united with the greatest kindliness.'

This letter was probably written before the news of the Battle of Forum Gallorum reached Rome.

1. *L. Lamia*] cp. note to 888, 2.

magno theatro] 'on a large stage.'

DCCCXXXI. (FAM. XII. 29).

est ab A. Gabinio consule relegatus, quod libere et fortiter rem meam defendisset; nec ex eo amor inter nos natus est, quod erat vetus et magnus, propterea nullum periculum proindire dubitavit. Ad haec officia vel merita potius iucundissima consuetudo accedit, ut nullo prorsus plus homine delecter. Non pro te iam expectare, quibus eum tibi verbis commendem: haec enim tanti amoris intellegis quae verba desideret; iis me tibi usum putato. 2. Tantum velim existimes, si negotia Lamiae, procuratores, liberos, familiam quibuscumque rebus opus defenderis, gratius mihi futurum, quam si ea tua liberalitas inuisset ad rem familiarem meam, nec dubito quin sine mea commendatione, quod tuum est iudicium de hominibus, ipsius Lamiae causa studiose omnia facturum sis: quamquam erat nobis etiam te existimare alicui senatus consulto, quod contra dignitatem tuam fieret, scribendo Lamiam adfuisse, qui omnino consiliis illis numquam fuit ad scribendum; deinde omnia tum falsa senatus consulta deferebantur; nisi forte etiam illi Semproniano senatus consulto me censes adfuisse, qui ne Romae quidem fui, ut de eo ad te scripsi, re recenti. Sed haec hactenus. 3. Te, Cornifici, etiam atque etiam rogo, ut omnia Lamiae negotia

mea putes esse curesque, ut intellegat hanc commendationem maximo sibi usui fuisse: hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Cura, ut valeas.

DCCCXXXII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 7).

GALLIA COMATA; MARCH 23 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus causam brevitatis litterarum et studii in rem publicam sui serius patefacti indicat suamque dignitatem M. Ciceroni commendat.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Plura tibi de meis consiliis scriberem rationemque omnium rerum redderem verbosius, quo magis iudicares omnia me rei publicae praestitisse, quae et tua exhortatione excepi et mea affirmatione tibi recepi—non minus enim a te probari quam diligere semper volui, nec te magis in culpa defensorem mihi paravi, quam praedicatorem meritorum meorum esse volui—; sed brevior me duae res faciunt: una, quod publicis litteris omnia sum persecutus, altera, quod M. Varisidium, equitem Romanum, familiarem meum, ipsum ad te transire iussi, ex quo omnia cognoscere posses. 2. Non medius fidius mediocri dolore adiciebar, cum alii occupare possessionem laudis viderentur, sed usque mihi temperavi, dum perducerem eo rem, ut dignum aliquid et consulatu meo et vestra expectatione efficere; quod spero, si me fortuna non fefellerit, me consecuturum, ut maximo praesidio rei publicae nos fuisse et nunc sentiant homines et in posterum memoria teneant. A te peto, ut dignitati meae suffrageris et, quarum rerum spe ad laudem me vocasti, harum fructu in reliquum facias alacriorem.

This is a private letter to Cicero sent by the same messenger as the official letter (833).

1. *verbosius*] 'at greater length.' We do not know of any other passage in which this word is used in a neutral sense. It elsewhere means 'wordy,' 'prolix.'
quae et . . . recepi] 'which I took

up at your advice, and on my own word, pledged to you, undertook to perform.'

defensorem . . . praedicatorem] Translate 'to defend' . . . 'to proclaim.'
sum persecutus] 'I have treated of': cp. Sen. 16.

ex quo . . . posses] 'so that from him you may learn everything.'

2. *et quarum rerum . . . alacriorem*

DCCCXXXIII. (FAM. X. 8).

minus posse te quam velle exploratum mihi est. Fac valeas
ue mutuo diligas.

**DCCCXXXIII. PLANCUS TO THE MAGISTRATES,
SENATE, AND PEOPLE (FAM. X. 8).**

GALLIA COMATA; MARCH 23 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;
AET. CIC. 63.

Plancus publicis his litteris rationem reddit, quam ob rem sero se libertatis
casorem profiteatur, dein de exercitu et provinciae statu exponit.

**PLANCUS IMP. COS. DESIG. S. D. COSS. PR. TR. PL. SENATUI
POPULO PLEBIQUE ROMANAE.**

1. Si cui forte videor diutius et hominum expectationem et
rei publicae de mea voluntate tenuisse suspensam, huic prius
suscipiens me esse arbitror quam de insequenti officio quidquam
pollicendum; non enim praeteritam culpam videri volo rede-
scere, sed optimae mentis cogitata iam pridem maturo tempore
exponere. 2. Non me praeteribat in tanta sollicitudine hominum

et tam perturbato statu civitatis fructuosissimam esse professionem bonae voluntatis, magnosque honores ex ea re complures consecutos videbam; sed, cum in eum casum me fortuna demisisset, ut aut celeriter pollicendo magna mihi ipse ad proficiendum impedimenta opponerem aut, si in eo mihi temperavissem, maiores occasiones ad opitulandum haberem, expeditius iter communis salutis quam meae laudis esse volui. Nam quis in ea fortuna, quae mea est, et ab ea vita, quam in me cognitam hominibus arbitror, et cum ea spe, quam in manibus habeo, aut sordidum quidquam pati aut perniciosum concupiscere potest? 3. Sed aliquantum nobis temporis et magni labores et multae impensae opus fuerunt, ut, quae rei publicae bonisque omnibus polliceremur, exitu praestaremus neque ad auxilium patriae nudi cum bona voluntate, sed cum facultatibus accederemus. Confirmandus erat exercitus nobis, magnis saepe praemiis sollicitatus, ut ab re publica potius moderata quam ab uno infinita speraret; confirmandae complures civitates, quae superiore anno largitionibus concessionibusque praemiorum erant obligatae, ut et illa vana putarent et eadem a melioribus auctoribus petenda existimarent; eliciendae etiam voluntates reliquorum, qui finitimis provincis exercitibusque praefuerunt, ut potius cum pluribus societatem defendendae liber-

wish to seem to have made an atonement for a past fault, but now, in the fulness of time, to be stating what a loyal mind has been long pondering.'

2. *complures*] Watson mentions Lepidus, Octavian, Egnatuleius (Phil. v. 41, 46, 62).

demisisset] cp. Fam. ix. 1, 4 (456).

ad proficiendum impedimenta] 'hindrances to doing any service': cp. for *ad* after *impedimentum*, Rosc. Am. 149; Caes. B. G. ii. 25, 1; B. C. i. 62, 2.

expeditius] 'I wished that there should be less obstacles in the way of the safety of the state than in the path of my renown.'

ab ea vita] 'after that life which I think is known to men in my case.' For *ab*, 'after,' cp. Fam. viii. 4, 1 (206), and note. It is very common in Livy, cp. Roby, § 1807. For *in* = 'in the case of,' cp. Phil. xiv. 9, *quae in Parmensium liberis et coniugibus effecerit*; Verg. Aen. ii. 541, *Talis in hoste fuit Priamo*, quoted by Roby, § 1978.

spe] That of the consulship, which Plancus was to hold next year.

sordidum] 'disgrace' (from connexion with Antony); *perniciosum*, 'dangerous,' to the state.

3. *opus fuerunt*] For this personal use of *opus esse*, cp. De Invent. ii. 57; Fam. ii. 6, 4 (177); Plaut. Capt. i. 2, 56, *maritumi milites opus sunt tibi*.

exitu praestaremus] 'eventually fulfil.' *nudi . . . facultatibus*] 'not naked of means, however loyal in heart, but with resources' (Jeans); 'not in the nakedness of mere loyalty, but with resources.'

sollicitatus] by Antony, who is also referred to in *uno*.

concessionibusque praemiorum] 'by grants of privileges': cp. Phil. ii. 92, 97; iii. 30; Att. xiv. 12, 1 (715).

a melioribus auctoribus] 'by more legitimate donors.'

praefuerunt] We should not follow Manutius, Wesenberg, and Rhodius, in altering to *praesunt*. The remarks of Plancus all apply to the past: he is thinking

DCCCXXXIII. (FAM. X. 8).

iniremus, quam cum paucioribus funestam orbi terrarum
 priam partiremur. 4. Muniendi vero nosmet ipsi fuimus
 o exercitu auxiliisque multiplicatis, ut, cum praeferremus
 us aperte, tum etiam invitis quibusdam sciri, quid defensuri
 mus, non esset periculosum. Ita numquam diffitebor multa
 ut ad effectum horum consiliorum pervenirem, et simulasse
 tum et dissimulasse cum dolore, quod, praematura denuntiatio
 civis imparati quam periculosa esset, ex casu collegae vide-
 . 5. Quo nomine etiam C. Furnio legato, viro forti atque
 nuo, plura etiam verbo quam scriptura mandata dedimus, ut et
 us ad vos perferrentur et nos essemus tutiores, quibusque
 as et communem salutem muniri et nos armari conveniret
 cepimus. Ex quo intellegi potest curam rei publicae summae
 undundae iam pridem apud nos excubare. 6. Nunc, cum deum
 gnitate ab omni re sumus paratiores, non solum bene sperare
 nobis homines, sed explorate iudicare volumus: legiones habeo

those who *were* the governors of the
 provinces at the time he sounded their in-
 vasions, without in the least considering
 whether the same or different men *are*
 holding the provinces.

simulasse] sc. friendship for Antony
 and desire of peace, cp. 826, 1; *dissimu-*
lasse, sc. devotion to the senate.
quod . . . videbam] 'because I saw
 from the misfortunes of my colleague D.

quinque sub signis et sua fide virtuteque rei publicae coniunctissimas et nostra liberalitate nobis obsequentes, provinciam omnium civitatum consensu paratissimam et summa contentione ad officia certantem, equitatus auxiliorumque tantas copias, quant~~as~~ hae gentes ad defendendam suam salutem libertatemque conficere possunt; ipse ita sum animo paratus, *ut* vel provinciam tueri vel ire, quo res publica vocet, vel tradere exercitum, auxilia provinciamque vel omnem impetum ~~in~~ belli in me convertere non recusem, si modo meo casu aut confirmare patriae salutem aut periculum possim morari. 7. Haec si iam expeditis omnibus rebus tranquilloque statu civitatis polliceor, in damno meae laudis rei publicae commodo laetabor; sin ad societatem integerrimorum et maximorum periculorum accedam, consilia mea aequis iudiciis ab obtretatione invidorum defendenda commendo. Mihi quidem ipsi fructus meritorum in rei publicae incolumitate satis magnus est paratus: eos vero, qui meam auctoritatem et multo magis vestram fidem secuti nec ulla spe decipi nec ullo metu terreri potuerunt, ut commendatos vobis habeatis, petendum videtur.

legiones habeo quinque] In 860, 3 (May 12), Plancus speaks of *quattuor legionibus expeditis*; and in 916, 3 (July 28), of *legiones veteranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una*. In the latter passage he wishes to under-rate his forces; in the passage before us to represent them in the best possible light.

et summa . . . certantem] 'most eager and emulous to perform its duties': cp. Tac. Hist. ii. 97, *certaturi ad obsequium*. *ipse . . . morari*] 'As for myself—while I am willing and ready either to defend my province, or to go wherever my country orders me, or to hand over to another my army, allied forces, and province—yet I do not flinch from turning the whole brunt of the war upon myself, if only I can, by incurring risk myself, either assure the safety of my country, or check the danger which threatens her.' H Pal omit *ita*: but it is improbable that

Plancus, in such an elaborate and studied letter as this is, would have varied the construction with *paratus* from the infinitive to subjunctive, though, of course, the latter construction is quite allowable: cp. Ter. Heaut. v. 1, 75, *Age iam uxorem ut arcesat paret*. In either case we must supply *ut* before *vel*. Rhodius (p. 17) wishes to take *non recusem* as potential, so as to avoid having to introduce *ut*, 'I, being so minded . . . would not refuse.' Some editors read *ut* for *vel* before *omnem*. For *ita* . . . *ut* cp. vol. I², p. 65.

7. expeditis] 'clear and open.' *in damno meae laudis*] 'though my own renown is injured.'

commodo] abl.: cp. Fam. ii. 9, 1 (224).

integerrimorum] 'utterly unabated.'—(Jeans).

ut . . . habeatis] 'that you should watch over their interests.'

a/

ut

2

as is de
H. Pal.

DCCCXXXIV. (FAM. X. 10).

DCCCXXXIV. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 10).

ROME ; MARCH 30 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Adiuvat M. Cicero L. Planci praeclaram voluntatem iuvandae rei publicae et praemia statu sperare eum ob eam causam iubet, suam ei operam pollicetur et ad tuendam publicam adhortatur.

CICERO PLANCO.

. Etsi satis ex Furnio nostro cognoram, quae tua voluntas, consilium de re publica esset, tamen tuis litteris lectis dius de toto sensu tuo iudicavi. Quam ob rem, quamquam in proelio omnis fortuna rei publicae disceptatur—quod quidem, haec legeres, iam decretum arbitrabar fore—tamen ipsa fama, de tua voluntate percrebuit, magnam es laudem consecutus ; ne si consulem Romae habuissemus, declaratum esset ab senatu tuis magnis honoribus, quam gratus esset conatus et apparatus

Cuius rei non modo non praeteriit tempus, sed ne maturum em etiam nunc meo quidem iudicio fuit ; is enim denique

est praemium. Quam ob rem, mi Plance, incumbere toto pectore ad laudem; subveni patriae, opitulare collegae, omnium gentium consensum et incredibilem conspirationem adiuva. Me tuorum consiliorum adiutorem, dignitatis fautorem, omnibus in rebus tibi amicissimum fidelissimumque cognosces; ad eas enim causas, quibus inter nos amore sumus, officiis, vetustate coniuncti, patriae caritas accessit, eaque effecit ut tuam vitam anteferrem meae. III. Kalendas Apriles.

DCCCXXXV. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 6).

ROME; END OF MARCH OR BEGINNING OF APRIL; A. U. C. 711;
B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero C. Titium Strabonem laudat: in C. Cassio et M. Bruto, si res ad Mutinam male geratur spem omnem rei publicae sitam esse dicit.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Qui status rerum fuerit tum, cum has litteras dedi, scire poteris ex C. Titio Strabone, viro bono et optime de re publica sentiente: nam quid dicam 'cupidissimo tui,' qui domo et fortunis relictis ad te potissimum profectus sit? itaque eum tibi ne commendo quidem: adventus ipsius ad te satis eum commendabit. 2. Tu velim sic existimes tibi persuadeas, omne perfugium bonorum in te et Bruto esse positum, si, quod nolim, adversi quid evenierit. Res, cum haec scribebam, erat in extremum adducta

for the moment but the reward of steadily-continued virtue.' Honour that is real honour only attends a course of long-continued virtue. For *invitamentum* cp. Fin. v. 17, *prima invitamenta naturae*.

Quam ob rem . . . adiuva] 'Wherefore, my dear Plancus, throw yourself heart and soul into the pursuit of true glory; assist your country, help your colleague, lend your aid to the union and marvellous coalition of all the nations of the earth.' For *toto pectore* cp. Att. xii. 35, 2 (577); xiii. 12, 4 (626).

ad eas enim . . . accessit] 'To those links by which we are united, affection, services, long-standing friendship, is added love of country.' The ablatives are in

apposition to *quibus*. For *vetustas* = *vetustas, amicitiae*, cp. 888, 2, and Reid on Arch. 31.

1. *C. Titio Strabone*] He is not mentioned elsewhere.

cupidissimo tui] 'most eager to be with you.'

potissimum] 'specially.'

2. *Res . . . discrimen*] 'At the time I am writing this our fortunes have come to a crisis; for Brutus can hardly hold out any longer at Mutina.' This sentence shows that this letter was written about the same time as 834 or a little later: cp. § 1 of that letter.

DCCCXXXVI. (BRUT. II. 1).

men; Brutus enim Mutinae vix iam sustinebat: qui si con-
tus erit, vicinus; sin—quod di omen avertant!—omnis
um cursus est ad vos. Proinde fac animum tantum habeas
inque apparatus, quanto opus est ad universam rem publi-
ecuperandam. Vale.

DCCCXXXVI. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 1).

TE; END OF MARCH; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

summo discrimine rem esse scribit Cicero, nec se tamen desperare: celeritatem
ulibus desiderat et prudentiam: maximam spem esse in Bruto et Cassio.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

Cum haec scribebam, res existimabatur in extremum
eta discrimen: tristes enim de Bruto nostro litterae nuntiique

nebat] For the absolute sense of
re, Watson compares Caes. B.G. ii.
nuntium mittit Icius sese diutius

every day: cp. 824, 1 (written March 20),
quod (sc. proelium) quidem cum haec legeres
iam decretum arbitrarer fore. It is strange
that there is no allusion to Plancus and to

adferebantur: me quidem non maxime conturbabant: his enim exercitiis ducibusque, quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere: neque adsentiebar maiori parti hominum: fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quae suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam non nullis in rebus prudentiam et celeritatem, quae si essent usi, iam pridem rem publicam recuperassemus. Non enim ignoras quanta momenta sint in re publica temporum et quid intersit idem illud utrum ante an post decernatur, suscipiatur, agatur. Omnia, quae severe decreta sunt hoc tumultu, si aut, quo die dixi sententiam, perfecta essent et non in diem ex die dilata aut, quo ex tempore suscepta sunt ut agerentur, non tardata

known in Rome by March 19. If we suppose that Cicero wrote to Brutus on March 20 a letter which is now lost, in that lost letter he no doubt advised that C. Antonius should be carefully guarded until after the decisive engagement in North Italy had taken place, and there was no need to return to that subject in the present letter. After that engagement had turned out favourably for the constitutionalists, Cicero during the latter end of April frequently reverts to the question of the treatment which in his opinion ought to be applied to C. Antonius (842, 5; 846, 4).

1. *Cum haec scriberem*] cp. 835, 2 (written probably at the same time as the present letter).

fidem enim consulum . . . erat] Though Cicero at times expressed a somewhat poor opinion of the consuls, especially of Pansa: cp. Att. xvi. 1, 4 (769) in *Pansu nyes*? *λῆπος πολλὸς in vino et somno istorum*; also cp. Att. xiv. 20, 4 (727); yet this was to his intimate friend Atticus; in general he defended them against adverse criticism, e.g. 840, 4; and in public he always spoke highly of them (Phil. iii. 2; x. 17; xii. 6: cp. 851, 6). Quintus Cicero, writing to Tiro (815, 1), judges them in his usual unmeasured style *de consulibus designatis, quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi plenos; qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est*.

celeritatem] The procrastination and dilatoriness of the consuls are constantly harped on in the Philippics, e.g. iii. 2, v. 26-34; vi. 7, 16; xi. 25, and especially v. 53, *celeritate autem opus est, qua si essemus usi bellum, ut saepe dixi, nullum haberemus*.

idem illud] These words go closely with *intereit* and the clause *utrum . . . agatur* is explained by them: cp. Att. xv. 26, 1 (763), *in quibus unum alium summa sua prudentia, idem illud, ut spectem ludos suos*.

tumultu] Cicero argues in Phil. viii. 2 ff. that a *tumultus* is really a more serious matter than a *bellum*.

in diem ex die dilata] We cannot quote an exact parallel. Where the phrase *diem ex* (or *de*) *die* occurs it is always found after a transitive verb which directly governs *diem*, and accordingly we do not find the preposition *in*, e.g. Att. vii. 26, 3 (326), *diem ex die expectare*; Caes. B.G. i. 16, 4; Liv. v. 48, 6; xxv. 25, 4; Tac. Ann. vi. 42 fin.; but if the verb has another accusative or is used passively we find that *in die* takes the place of *diem ex die*, Suet. Otho 5, *idque in dies expectabat*; Liv. xxxvi. 17, 14, *adventus qui in dies expectatur*. But while this often appears with *expectare* we cannot find any example of a verb of deferring (*differre, proferre*) used in the passive with any phrase signifying 'from day to day,' except this present one, and perhaps Att. xiii. 37, 4 (657), where, however, the reading is uncertain. Certainly in *singulos dies* would be more natural. Becher originally (Rh. Mus. xxxvii. 587) considered this phrase a Grecism and compared Herod. ix. 8, *ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι*; but later (Philol. xvii. 475) he regards it as an archaic Latin usage, since Prof. Iwan Müller referred him to Cato ap. Priscian, ix. p. 482 (Hertz), *beneficii postdiem iussisti adesse*; *in diem ex die non ausi* (archaic for *ausus sum*) *recensare*, which sufficiently justifies the phrase.

DCCCXXXVI. (BRUT. II. 1).

perastinata, bellum iam nullum haberemus. 2. Omnia, praestiti rei publicae, quae praestare debuit is, qui esset in quo ego sum, gradu senatus populiue iudicio collocatus, la modo, quae nimirum sola ab homine sunt postulanda, vigilantiam, patriae caritatem: ea sunt enim, quae nemo i non praestare debeat: ego autem ei, qui sententiam dicat incipibus de re publica, puto etiam prudentiam esse praestantem nec me, cum mihi tantum sumpserim, ut gubernacula rei publicae prenderem, minus putarim reprehendendum, si inutiliter ad senatui suaserim quam si infideliter. 3. Actae quae sint me agantur scio perscribi ad te diligenter. Ex me autem est quod te velim habere cognitum, meum quidem animum esse neque respectum ullum quaerere, nisi me utilitas tuis forte converterit. Maioris autem partis animi te Cassi-

astinata] This is a good Ciceronian word. Rosc. Am. 26; Verr. iv. 100: Phil. vi. 7, *tarditas et procrastinatio*.

note] Becher has noticed that in the 397 Letters to Atticus such words are found only 22 times, in the 11 of Brut. i. there are 15 instances:

impolite, incallide, indiserte, immortaliter, insaturabiliter, intemperate.

3. *Ex me autem*] Madvig (A. C. iii. 276) reads *extremum* for these words: cp. Att. xi. 16, 5 (431); but there is no serious difficulty in *ex*, which often occurs after such words as *cognoscere, audire*: cp. Rep. i. 17. *studeo ex te audire quid*

umque respiciunt. Quam ob rem ita te para, Brute, ut intellegas aut, si hoc tempore bene res gesta sit, tibi meliorem rem publicam esse faciendam aut, si quid offensum sit, per te esse eandem recuperandam.

DCCCXXXVII. BRUTUS TO CICERO

(BRUT. II. 3 = 5 AND 3).

DYRRHACHIUM; APRIL 1; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

De Trebonii morte et provincia scribit Brutus; de Antonio consulit. Res a Cassio gestas non ante tempus publicandas esse ostendit. Orationes Ciceronis laudat et pecuniam supplementumque postulat. Postremo de Dolabellae crudelitate Antistii liberalitate et Ciceronis filii laudibus narrat.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Litteras tuas valde exspecto, quas scripsisti post nuntios nostrarum rerum, et de morte Trebonii: non enim dubito quin mihi consilium tuum explices. Indigno scelere et civem optimum amisimus et provinciae possessione pulsi sumus, quam recuperari facile est: neque minus turpe aut flagitiosum erit post recuperari. 2. Antonius adhuc est nobiscum, sed me dius fidius et moveor hominis precibus et timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat.

maiores partes which Meyer (p. 111) objects to as poetical, comparing Hor. Carm. ii. 17, 5, *Ah! te meae si partem animae rapit maturior vis*, Ovid Pont. i. 6, 16, *Magnaue pars animi consilique mei*; but cp. Att. iii. 7, 3 (63), *nisi dolor meus cum omnes partes mentis tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset* and Boot's note; iii. 20, 2 (78), *partes meae salutis*; iv. 18, 2, *partes securitatis* quoted by Streng (p. 38). He, however, adopts the simple and convincing emendation of Ruete (p. 104) and Madvig (A. C. iii. 102), which he had already thought of himself. The objection to the mss reading is that Cicero could not say that his whole mind was with the army, and immediately after that the greater part of his mind was looking to Brutus and Cassius. For *maior pars*, without any further specification, signifying 'a number of men,'

Ruete compares *magna pars* in Balb. 21, Liv. iii. 24, 8.

1. *exspecto*] Brutus probably heard of the death of Trebonius from Lentulus, not from Cicero; and Cicero may, as O. F. Schmidt suggests (N. Jahrb., 1884, p. 622), have avoided mentioning the occurrence to Brutus as he had himself proposed that the war against Dolabella should be entrusted to Cassius.

nostrarum rerum] i.e. the capture of C. Antonius, at Apollonia. Concerning the death of Trebonius, see Phil. xi. init. *quam . . . recuperari*] 'but none the less disgraceful and scandalous that its subsequent recovery is necessary.' Some commentators lay stress on *post*, 'that its recovery sometime hence (and not immediately) will be disgraceful.'

2. *excipiat*] 'carry off,' a slightly unusual meaning of the word.

DCCCXXXVII. (BRUT. II. 3).

aestuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Qua re primum fac me certiore quid tibi placeat. 3. Cassius Syriam, legiones Syriacas habet, ultro quidem a Murco Marcio et ab exercitu ipso arcessitus. Ego scripsi ad Tertiam et matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac felicis-gessit Cassius, quam cum consilium cognovissent tibi quae esset. 4. Legi orationes duas tuas, quarum altera Kal. usus es, altera de litteris meis, quae habita est abs te contra eum. Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio an ingenii tui maior in his libellis laus contineatur. Iam do ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola iocans isti. 5. Duabus rebus egemus, Cicero, pecunia et supplemento: quarum altera potest abs te expediri, ut aliqua pars iam istinc mittatur nobis, vel secreto consilio adversus Pansam actione in senatu, *ab ipso senatu* altera, quae magis est necessaria meo exercitui magis quam reliquorum. Hoc magis doleo

[*Murco*] cp. 822, 1; 856, 3.

[*scripsi ad Tertiam*] cp. 840, 5.

[*quod . . . gessit*] Cicero would have transferred to him by Vetus Antistius

5. *pecunia*] The need which Brutus had of money, the sinews of war, can be seen from what is said about the large sum transferred to him by Vetus Antistius

Asiam nos amisisse : quam sic vexari a Dolabella audio, ut iam non videatur crudelissimum eius facinus interfectio Trebonii. Vetus Antistius me tamen pecunia sublevavit. Cicero, filius tuus, sic mihi se probat industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus numquam dimittere videatur cogitationem cuius sit filius. Qua re quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kalend. April. Dyrrhachio.

DCCCXXXVIII. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. x. 12).

ROME ; APRIL 11 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Planco significat gratas senatui eius litteras fuisse, et quae eius causa in senatu acta sint significat et ad liberandam rem publicam adhortatur.

CICERO PLANCO.

1. Etsi rei publicae causa maxime gaudere debeo tantum ei te praesidii, tantum opis attulisse extremis paene temporibus, tamen ita te victorem complectar re publica recuperata, ut magnam

made. Ernesti omits *quae*, and Wesenberg alters to *-que*; but *altera . . . altera-que* is a solecism. As regards the transference of forces, the authority, though formally resting in the senate, was practically in the hands of the general, and the senate would not interfere further than to make a recommendation, except in very important cases; grants of funds, however, were both formally and practically made by the senate. Streng (p. 63) ingeniously suggests *altera quo magis est necessaria . . . , hoc magis doleo*, 'as to money, the more necessary it is so much the more do I regret the loss of Asia.' Brutus regrets that he is not able to get supplies of money from Asia owing to the plundering of Dolabella, but goes on to say that he has received aid from Antistius. If this view be adopted we should prefer to read *<ab ipso senatu> altera, quae <quo> magis*.

nos amisisse] see note to 839, 3, *sed quo**.

quam] relative, with *Asiam* as antecedent.

Vetus Antistius] cp. 850, 1.

Cicero, filius tuus] For young Cicero's exploits see Plut. Brut. 24: cp. Phil. x. 13.

abutendum tua gloria] 'he will not have to make undue claims on your renown'; Plut. Brut. 24, says of young Cicero, *ὅν ἐπαίνε? (sc. Brutus) διαφερόντως καὶ φησιν, εἰτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἰτ' ἐνυπνίδεται, θαυμάζειν οὕτω γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ μισοτύραννον*. Though this panegyric was no doubt contained in a letter from Brutus to Cicero we have no similar remark contained in any of the letters which we possess.

This letter is an answer to 832, 833.

1. *extremis*] 'desperate': cp. Att. xi. 1, 1 (406).

ita . . . complectar . . . ut . . . adfert] cp. Quintus ap. 927, 1, *ita te videam ut mihi gratissimum fecisti*; and *ita me di*

DCCCXXXVIII. (FAM. X. 12).

em mihi laetitiae tua dignitas adfert, quam et esse iam et
ram amplissimam intellego. Cave enim putes ullas umquam
ras gratiores quam tuas in senatu esse recitatas. Idque con-
cum meritorum tuorum in rem publicam eximia quadam
mitudine tum verborum sententiarumque gravitate. Quod
quidem minime novum, qui et te nossem et tuarum littera-
ad me missarum promissa meminissem et haberem a Furnio
ro tua penitus consilia cognita: sed senatui maiora visa sunt
n erant expectata, non quo umquam de tua voluntate dubi-
et, sed nec quantum facere posses nec quoad progredi velles
oratum satis habebat. 2. Itaque cum a. d. vii. Idus Apriles
e mihi tuas litteras M. Varisidius reddidisset easque legissem,
edibili gaudio sum elatus, cumque magna multitudo optimorum
rum et civium me de domo deduceret, feci continuo omnes
icipes meae voluptatis. Interim ad me venit Munatius noster,
onsuerat: at ego ei litteras tuas, nihildum enim sciebat.
a ad me primum Varisidius, idque sibi a te mandatum esse
bat. Paulo post idem mihi Munatius eas litteras legendas
t, quas ipsi miseras, et eas, quas publice. 3. Placuit nobis, ut
m ad Cornutum praetorem urbanum litteras deferremus, qui,

genter eum auspiciis operam dedisse, idque a nostro collegio comprobatum est. Itaque res dilata est in posterum. Eo autem die magna mihi pro tua dignitate contentio cum Servilio: qui cum gratia effecisset ut sua sententia prima pronuntiaretur, frequens eum senatus reliquit et in alia omnia discessit, meaeque sententiae, quae secunda pronuntiata erat, cum frequenter adsentiretur senatus, rogatu Servilii P. Titius intercessit. 4. Res in posterum dilata. Venit paratus Servilius, Iovi ipsi iniquus, cuius in templo res agebatur. Hunc quem ad modum fregerim quantaque contentione Titium intercessorem abiecerim ex aliorum te litteris malo cognoscere. Unum hoc ex meis: senatus gravior, constanter, amicior tuis laudibus esse non potuit, quam tum fuit, nec vero tibi senatus amicior quam cuncta civitas. Mirabiliter enim populus Romanus universus et omnium generum ordinumque

solitos qui auspicabantur? nunc imperant pullario; ille renuntiat; or, perhaps, the name of those diviners who officiated in the *auspicia ex tripudiis* was transferred to those who officiated in other kinds of divination, popular language not regarding nice distinctions of ritual. It would appear that *auspicia ex aribus* were taken prior to the sittings of the senate: cp. App. ii. 116, *ἔθος δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσι ἐς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσιούσιν αἰωνί(ζεσθαι) προσιούσιν*; Plin. Paneg. 76, *una erat in limine* (sc. *curiae*) *mora consultare aves revererique numinum monitus*.

admonitu . . . dedisse] For a verbal substantive governing a clause Andr. compares 896, 4, *pollicitatione . . . daturum*; Att. xii. 26, 1 (562), *voluntate tua ut simul simus*. Madvig (§ 395) quotes Off. ii. 22, *spe sibi id utile*.

collegio] sc. of augurs.
in posterum] There is no need to add *diem*: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 3, 2 (102); Att. x. 14, 3 (400).

Servilio] *Isaurico*, who had been consul with Caesar in 706 (48). He appears to have been a personal enemy of Plancus.

sententia prima] If, in the course of the debate, several *sententiae* had been delivered, the president had the right of choosing the order in which these different opinions should be submitted to the votes of the house. On this occasion Servilius was able to secure, by private influence, that Cornutus should put his

opinion to the house before that of Cicero: cp. Fam. viii. 13, 2 (271), *nam cum de intercessione referratur . . . primaque M. Marcelli sententia pronuntiata esset qui agendum cum tribunis plebis censebat frequens senatus in alia omnia iit*.

in alia omnia discessit] 'voted directly against it': cp. last note. This is the technical expression for voting with the Noes in a division (*discessio*): cp. Fam. i. 2, 1 (96), *frequentes ierunt in alia omnia*, and note.

P. Titius] trib. pl.: cp. 861, 3.

4. Iovi ipsi iniquus] A proverbial expression for violent and headstrong passion, 'prepared to outstare the lightning': cp. Att. viii. 15, 2 (350), *nec me movet quod scribis Iovi ipsi iniquum* (sc. *Pompeium fore si vicerit*): Plaut. Cas. ii. 5, 15, *negavi ipsi me concessurum Iovi*; also Otto, p. 179. The origin of the proverb does not appear to be known; perhaps it may be referred to the impiety of Capaneus: cp. Aesch. Theb. 428.

fregerim] 'crushed': cp. Att. i. 16, 8 (22), *Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu*.
abiecerim] 'humbled.' Att. i. 18, 3 (24), *senatus auctoritatem abiecit*.

Unum hoc ex meis] sc. *litteris te malo cognoscere*.

senatus] 'The senate could not have been more dignified, more firm, or more well-disposed towards granting you your honours than it was at that time.'

generum ordinumque] 'peoples and ranks.'

DCCCXXXVIII. (FAM. X. 12).

ensus ad liberandam rem publicam conspiravit. 5. Perge
 r, ut agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati, atque
 omnia, quae habent speciem gloriae, collecta inanissimis
 odoris insignibus, contemne: brevia, fucata, caduca existima.
 am decus in virtute positum est, quae maxime illustratur
 nis in rem publicam meritis. Eam facultatem habes maxi-
 ; quam quoniam complexus es et tenes, perfice ut ne minus res
 ica tibi quam tu rei publicae debeas. Me tuae dignitatis non
 o fautorem, sed etiam amplificatorem cognosces. Id cum rei
 icae, quae mihi vita est mea carior, tum nostrae necessitudini
 re me iudico. Atque in his euris, quas contuli ad dignitatem
 a, cepi magnam voluptatem, quod bene cognitam mihi T.
 atii prudentiam et fidem magis etiam perspexi in eius incredi-
 erga te benevolentia et diligentia. III. Idus Apriles.

ensus . . . conspiravit] Andr. com-
 Ligar. 34, qui horum consensum
 rantem et paene conflatum in hac
 aequalitate fraterna noverit.
 Perge igitur] 'Go on then as you
 ping, and consign your name to
 l remembrance; all these things

collecta, which need not be altered. Andr.
 compares Phil. ii. 3, gratiam non virtutis
 spe sed vetatis flore collectam. Gitlbauer
 (p. 84) suggests *contecta*, needlessly. We
 have adopted *fucata* from H Pal, to which
 the mss tradition leads; *fugatia* (ia in
 rasura) M; *fugato* (Petrarch's ms teste

DCCCXXXIX. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 2).

ROME ; APRIL 11 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

De Planci egregio, de Lepidi inconstanti in rem publicam animo, et de suis cum Servilio in senatu contentionibus, quibus Plancum tandem fregit.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Planci animum in rem publicam egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris eius, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Lepidi, tui necessarii, qui secundum fratrem adfines habet quos oderit proximos, levitatem et inconstantiam animumque semper inimicum rei publicae iam credo tibi ex tuorum litteris esse perspectum. 2. Nos expectatio sollicitat, quae est omnis iam in extremum adducta discrimen. Est enim spes omnis in Bruto expediendo, de quo vehementer timebamus. 3. Ego hic cum homine furioso satis habeo negotii, Servilio, quem tuli diutius quam dignitas mea patiebatur, sed tuli rei publicae

The date is fixed by 839, 1.

1. *litteris*] viz. 833, read in the senate on April 7 (838, 2).

Lepidi . . . perspectum] cp. 898, 1. 'The unprincipled and vacillating conduct of your relation Lepidus (who chooses, after his brother, his closest connexions as the special objects of his hate), and his constant hostility to the free state, I now believe you thoroughly perceive from the letters of your friends.' The brother of Lepidus was Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 704 (50). They appear to have been already on bad terms: cp. Att. xiv. 8, 1 (710). Paullus voted afterwards for the outlawry of Lepidus, and was accordingly proscribed by the triumvirs. He fled to M. Brutus, and never returned to Rome. For *secundum*, cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 18 (148), *ille mihi secundum te et liberos nostros ita est ut sit paene par*; also Att. xii. 15 (547). The very severe judgment here passed on Lepidus expressed probably Cicero's real opinion of the man, even at this time, and was justified by his subsequent conduct. In 705 (49) Cicero had roundly spoken of him as *iste omnium turpissimus et sordidissimus*: cp. Att. ix. 9, 3 (364). His want of principle was notorious; D.

Brutus styles him *homo ventosissimus* (847, 1); and Lepidus himself knew that he was not in very good odour (876, 3). Cicero's letter (827) of March 20th to him is cold enough, and even publicly, in Phil. xiii. 13, 14, Cicero had spoken severely (cp. *atque etiam hoc M. Lepido providendum est ne quid arrogantius quam eius mores ferunt facere videatur*) against the threats which Lepidus used when he urged that peace should be made with Antony (*si enim nos exercitu terret*).

2. *in extremum . . . discrimen*] cp. 836, 1.

3. *Servilio*] He had been consul in 706 (48) with Julius Caesar. It is instructive to compare the account of the proceedings of the senate as they are related in this section, and in a letter to Plancus (838). In the latter epistle, addressed to a Caesarian, there is naturally no mention of the great effect produced by the account of the successes of Cassius; the whole narration has reference to the manner in which the cause of Plancus was supported by Cicero. Ruete (p. 74) notices that in the whole correspondence between Plancus and Cicero, neither Cassius nor Brutus is ever mentioned.

DCCCXXXIX. (BRUT. II. 2).

ne darem perditis civibus hominem, parum sanum illum
m, sed tamen nobilem, quo concurrerent, quod faciunt nihilo
, sed eum alienandum a re publica non putabam. Finem
ius ferendi. Coeperat enim esse tanta insolentia, ut nemi-
liberum duceret. In Planci vero causa exarsit incredibili
, mecumque per biduum ita contendit et a me ita fractus est,
m in perpetuum modestiorem sperem fore. Atque in hac
atione ipsa, cum maxime res ageretur, a. d. v. Idus Apriles
e mihi in senatu redditae sunt a Lentulo nostro de Cassio,
gionibus, de Syria: quas statim cum recitavissem, cecidit
ius, complures praeterea: sunt enim insignes aliquot, qui
bissime sentiunt, sed acerbissime tulit Servilius adsensum
mihi de Planco. Magnum illud monstrum in re publica
ed quo . . .

concurrerent] 'as a centre to rally

Quo is an adverb. For concur-

818, 1; Phil. v. 29.

rat . . . duceret] 'for he began

such arrogance as to treat every-
a slave.'

anci . . . fore] 'But in the case

ncus, mortified as he was past

quisque poterat maxime insignis . . . telis

hostium se offerebat; Tac. Ann. xi. 19.

Post red. in Sen. 28, *equis insignibus*

reportati; Phil. xi. 10, *insignes latrones*.

Generally *insignis*, when used of animate

objects, has the characteristic in which

the person or animal is distinguished

added (Legg. iii. 19; Rabir. 24). Wesen-

DCCCXL. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 4 = 4 AND 6).

ROME; APRIL 12; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Respondet Cicero Bruti litteris de Cassii et Dolabellae rebus in Asia et de Antonio sententiam scribit; idem respondet Bruto de supplemento et pecunia sollicita, de Cassii rebus evulgandis et de filii sui laudibus.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Datis mane a. d. III. Id. April. Scaptio litteris, eodem die tuas accepi Kal. April. Dyrrhachio datas vesperi. Itaque mane prid. Id. Apr. cum a Scaptio certior factus essem non esse eos profectos, quibus pridie dederam, et statim ire, hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinae salutationis. 2. De Cassio laetor et rei publicae gratulor, mihi etiam, qui repugnante et irascente Pansa sententiam dixerim, ut Dolabellam bello Cassius persequeretur. Et quidem audacter dicebam sine nostro senatus consulto iam illud eum bellum gerere. De te etiam dixi tum quae dicenda putavi. Haec ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. 3. Quod me de Antonio consulis, quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ex iis litteris, quas mihi misisti, Dolabella Asiam vexare videtur et in ea se gerere teterrime. Compluribus autem scripsisti Dolabellam a Rhodiis esse exclusum, qui si ad Rhodum accessit, videtur mihi

1. *Datis . . . litteris*] i.e. 839. Brutus had two agents of the name of Scaptius, one in Cilicia, the other in Cappadocia: cp. note to Att. vi. 1, 4 (252); perhaps they were brothers. Cp. also 916, 1.

III. *Id.*] Cratander's ed. has *VI.*, a date which is shown to be wrong both from *prid. Id.* following, and from the fact that it would be almost impossible for a letter to reach Rome from Dyrrhachium in 7½ days. The usual time was from 10 to 12 days. For the confusion between V. and II. in MSS cp. note to 842, 5.

tuas] i.e. 837.

paullulum] This epistle is a fairly long one; but we too often begin a letter with 'just a line' and yet prolong it to more than one sheet of paper. For similar excuses for the shortness of a letter which

afterwards extends to considerable length: cp. Att. i. 14, 1 (20); xi. 17, 1 (432); Fam. iii. 7, 1 (244); 8, 1 (222).

2. *ut . . . Cassius persequeretur*] cp. Phil. xi. 29 ff. For the alliteration *Dolabellam bello* cp. 843, 4; 852, 1.

De te . . . putavi] What Cicero said (Phil. xi. 26 ff) was that Brutus was sufficiently occupied in defending Macedonia against C. Antonius, and that the actions against Dolabella should be conducted by Cassius. *Haec oratio* is Phil. xi.

3. *Dolabellam . . . exclusum*] This was an utterly false report: see the letters of Lentulus (882, 2-4; 883, 2-3) which show that the Rhodians sided with Dolabella. But the distance between Rhodes and Dyrrhachium was sufficiently great to admit of false rumours arising; and

DCCCXL. (BRUT. II. 4 = 4 AND 6).

reliquisse. Id si ita est, istic tibi censeo commorandum :
in semel cepit, mihi crede, non erit, at in Asiam censeo per-
adum : nihil mihi videris hoc tempore melius acturus.

Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento
cunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt
ates, quibus uti te posse videam praeter illas, quas senatus
rit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supple-
autem non video quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest
ensa de exercitu suo aut dilectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam
te ferat tam multos ad te ire voluntarios, quo modo equidem
quod iis rebus, quae in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias
magnas esse arbitretur, quo modo autem multi suspicantur,
ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit, quod ego non suspicor.
Quod scribis te ad Tertiam sororem *et matrem* scripsisse, ut ne

p. 76) points out that in 710 (44)
false rumours of Antony's actions
disidium were rife at Puteoli (cp.
Also in 705 (49) there were
reports as to the departure of
and the consuls for Greece:
iv. p. xxxi.

Rome. But now in April things had
changed. C. Antonius was a prisoner,
Macedonia and Greece were quite secure,
but there was imminent danger of Dol-
bella's being able to acquire considerable
power in Western Asia Minor. This had
to be prevented even if Brutus were com-

prius ederent ea, quae gesta a Cassio essent, quam mihi visum esset, video te veritum esse id, quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Caesaris, quomodo etiam nunc partes appellantur, vehementer commoverentur. Sed ante quam tuas litteras acceperimus, audita res erat et pervulgata, tui etiam tabellarii ad multos familiares tuos litteras attulerant. Qua re neque suppressenda res erat, praesertim cum id fieri non posset, neque, si posset, non divulgandam potius quam occultandam putaremus. 6. De Cicerone meo et, si tantum est in eo, quantum scribis, tantum scilicet, quantum debeo, gaudeo, et si, quod amas eum, eo maiora facis, id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum diligere.

DCCCXLI. GALBA TO CICERO (FAM. X. 30).

CAMP AT MUTINA; APRIL 15; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Ser. Galba, nepos Ser. Galbae oratoris, de proelio exponit ad Mutinam facto victoriae de M. Antonio relata.

GALBA CICERONI S.

1. A. d. xviii. Kal. Maias, quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus, cum quo ego eram—nam ei obviam processeram

ne animi partium . . . commoverentur] The senate had a certain amount of fear lest Brutus and Cassius should acquire too great military power and become dangerous to the state (Phil. x. 14, 15; xi. 36 ff). For *animi partium* cp. Fam. viii. 14, 1 (280), *ex partium sensu*; Phil. v. 32, *partium contentio*; for *partes Caesaris* cp. note to 890, 1.

quomodo . . . appellantur] 'as even still the party is called'; that is, even though Caesar is dead, the party is still called 'the party of Caesar.' For this use of *quomodo* cp. De Orat. ii. 18; Fam. vii. 5, 3 (134). This interpretation has more point than the view that the meaning merely is that Antony's following should be called *hostes* rather than *partes*: cp. Phil. xiii. 39, *partes, furiose, dicuntur in foro, in curia; bellum contra patriam nefarium suscepisti*; 47, *quod si partium certamen esset, quarum omnino nomen extinctum est Antoniane potius et Ventidius partes Caesaris defenderent*.

tui etiam tabellarii] i.e. your messen-

gers had spread the news as well as the letter of Lentulus: cp. 839, 3. This use of *etiam* would show that the letter of Lentulus was the primary authority.

suppressenda] cp. Liv. iii. 65, 13, *quas senatusconsulta . . . supprimebantur vitabanturque*. Cicero often (e.g. Clu. 68, 99) uses *supprimere* in the sense of 'to embezzle.'

neque, si posset, non divulgandum] We must consider *neque . . . non* equivalent to *et*.

6. *De Cicerone . . . diligere*] cp. 837, 5. *et si . . . facis*] 'and if because you love him you make more of what he has done' (than you would otherwise do).

For Galba see Introduction. There is an elaborate section on the language of Galba in a Würzburg Programme by Dr. Hermann Hellmuth, entitled *Über die Sprache der Epistolographen S. Sulpicius Galba und L. Cornelius Balbus* (1888).

1. A. d. xviii. Kal. Maias] The MSS MH have xvii. in the text, and M also in

DCCCXLI. (FAM. X. 30).

passus centum, quo maturius veniret—, Antonius legiones
t duas, secundam et quintam tricensimam et cohortes prae-
duas, unam suam, alteram Silani, et evocatorum partem.
bviam venit nobis, quod nos quattuor legiones tironum
e solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra
assemus, legionem Martiam, cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas
tes praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis. 2. Cum equites Antonii
uissent, contineri neque legio Martia neque cohortes prae-

ex. But Ovid (Fast. iv. 625-7)
stantially states the date of the
s the day after the Ides, that we
ppose there was in the archetype
Letters the slight error, xvii. for
Mommsen (Hermes xvii. 636) ap-
p hold that the battle lasted two
But surely, if so, Galba would have
ome hint of it.

quo] sc. Pansa. For the antecede-
t being the nearest subject cp. 895,
ipsius refers to Caesar, not to exer-
Att. x. 8, 9 (392), cuius refers to
not to ego; Tusc. i. 3, qui refers
us, not to Ennius, where, however,
hner: cp. also Hellmuth, p. 16.
a passus] cp. note to 872, 1.

evocatorum] cp. vol. III. Addendum
v., p. 301.

Ita] 'with this force.'—(Jeans).

solum] This adverb is rarely found
with numerals, yet cp. Att. xvi. 4, 2
(771); Fam. iv. 9, 1 (487); Leg. Agr. ii.
87; De Legg. i. 53, quoted by Hellmuth
(p. 16), who also notices the strange posi-
tion of solum in the sentence, and com-
pares Nep. Hannib. 10, 5, praecipit omnes
ut . . . a ceteris tantum satis habeant
se defendere.

potuissemus] With some hesitation we
have retained this, the ms reading (possuis-
semus M: potuissemus H Pal). The plu-
perfect indicative is occasionally found
for the imperfect indicative in the classical

toriae potuerunt: quas sequi coepimus coacti, quoniam retinere eas non potueramus. Antonius ad Forum Gallorum suas copias continebat, neque sciri volebat se legiones habere: tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Postea quam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa, sequi se duas legiones iussit tironum. Postea quam angustias paludis et silvarum transiimus, acies est instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. 3. Nondum venerant legiones duae: repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit et sine mora concurrat. Primo ita pugnatum est, ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari: etsi dexterius cornu, in quo ego eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo, impetu primo fugaverat legionem xxxv. Antonii, ut amplius passus d. ultra aciem, quo loco steterat, processerit. Itaque cum equites nostrum cornum circumire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem arma-

expected no quarter, and fought with desperation. Cicero (Phil. xiv. 26) states that were it not for this over-eagerness on the part of the Martian legion to engage Antony, the latter would have been defeated even before the arrival of Hirtius. Of Pansa and the Martian legion, he says *dignus imperator legione Martia, digna legio imperatore*.

Forum Gallorum] now Castel Franco, about ten miles south-east of Mutina, on the Aemilian road. Just here the high road ran through a marshy country, after issuing from a defile, consisting of woods and swamps: cp. Frontin. Strat. ii. 6, 39, *per silvestria Aemiliae viae*.

Postea quam] Note that two sentences which follow one another begin with this word. Even such an excellent writer as Caesar begins (B. G. i. 3, 2) two sentences one after the other with *ad eas res concipiendas*.

duas legiones . . . tironum] Pansa had with him four legions of recruits (§ 1). Two were left in the rear with the quaestor Torquatus (App. iii. 69) to guard the camp where Pansa had rested during the previous night.

duodecim cohortium] The ten cohorts of the Martian legion and the two praetorian cohorts.

3. *legiones duae*] i.e. the recruits.

concurrat] The battle was divided into three divisions. On the right wing, facing north-west, in the swampy ground to the right of the road, Carfulenus and Galba, with eight cohorts of the Martian

legion, stood opposed to the 35th legion of Antony. On the left wing the remaining two cohorts of the Martian legion and the praetorian cohort of Hirtius were opposed to the 2nd legion. Separating the two wings, and preventing one from seeing the other, was the raised Aemilian highway, on which the praetorian cohort of Octavian engaged in unequal conflict with the praetorian cohorts of Antony and Silanus.

etsi] The sense is: (the whole battle was vigorously fought) though at first our wing routed the enemy.

dexterius] Andr. compares Ovid, Met. ii. 138, for this double comparative form. It first occurs in Varro, L. L. ix. 27, 34, and frequently after him: see Neue ii³. 187.

d] We add this numeral from II; it is omitted in M.

processerit] For this unusual sequence of tenses after a perfect or pluperfect tense, Andr. compares Att. ii. 16, 1 (43), *ita me pupugit ut somnum mihi ademerit*; iv. 3, 3 (92), *adduxerit*; Liv. xxii. 6, 6: see Roby, § 1516. It is especially common in negative sentences: cp. 823, 1; Fam. i. 1, 2 (95); Verr. v. 27.

cornum] so M; *cornu* H Pal. We have retained *cornum*, as it is found in Lucr. ii. 388, and elsewhere.

circumire] Watson suggests that the 35th legion may have permitted itself to be driven back, in order to allow the cavalry to cut off the pursuing Martian legion from the rest of Pansa's army.

DCCCXLI. (FAM. X. 30).

opponere Maurorum equitibus, ne aversos nostros aggredere-
r. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos Antoniumque
ne esse aliquanto. Repente equum immisi ad eam legionem
am, quae veniebat ex castris, scuto reiecto. Antoniani me
ni; nostri pila coicere velle. Ita nescio quo fato sum ser-
quod sum cito a nostris cognitus. 4. In ipsa Aemilia, ubi
s Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu siniste-
quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legionis duae cohortes erant
hors praetoria, pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu
nibantur, quo vel plurimum valet Antonius. Cum omnes se
issent nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra.
nius tamquam victor castra putavit se posse capere. Quo
venit, complures ibi amisit nec egit quicquam. Audita re
us cum cohortibus viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua

o supposes that the Moorish cavalry
en levied by Caesar for his expedi-
against the Parthians. In their
and against their famous cavalry,
force would have been extremely

quo . . . Antonius] 'in which arm
Antony was quite distinctly the stronger.'
novissimus] see note to Fam. xi. 1, 3
(700).
tamquam victor] 'supposing himself
victor.'

castra occurrit copiasque eius omnes deleuit fugavit eodemque loco, ubi erat pugnatum, ad Forum Gallorum. Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. 5. Hirtius in ea castra redit, unde Pansa exierat, ubi duas legiones reliquerat, quae ab Antonio erant oppugnatae. Sio partem maiorem suarum copiarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id tamen sine aliqua iactura cohortium praetoriarum nostrarum et legionis Martinae fieri potuit. Aquilae duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antonii. Res bene gesta est. A. d. xvii. Kalendas Maias ex castris.

which had deserted from Antony at the end of the preceding year, and the 7th legion. The latter consisted of veterans recalled to arms: cp. Phil. xiv. 27 (Watson).

deleuit fugavit] Watson notices that the first word refers to the infantry, the second to the cavalry. For the asyndeton cp. the narrative of the same events, Phil. xiv. 27, *prostravit, iudit, occidit; 37, profligavit, occidit*.

eodemque loco] 'and in the same place too.' It is more glorious (says Wölfflin cp. Hellmuth, p. 21) to defeat the enemy on the original field of battle than in flight, or in a subsequent engagement elsewhere. Wesenberg ingeniously, but unnecessarily, supplies <*eodem die*> *eodemque loco*, comparing Phil. xiv. 25, *unius autem diei quot et quantae fuerunt virtutes*; 28, *ita trium imperatorum virtute consilio felicitate uno die locis pluribus res publica est conservata*. The three generals referred to in this latter passage are Pansa, Hirtius, and Octavian. The latter repulsed an attack made by L. Antonius on the camp of Hirtius at Mutina (Phil. xiv. 37). After the battle all three generals were saluted as *imperatores* by the army (Dio Cass. xlv. 38, 1). This was the first time on which Octavian received the title, and it is accordingly noted in the *Feriale Cumanum*, C. I. L. x. 8375, [*xviii. K. Mai. eo die Caesar primum vicit Supplicatio Victoriae Augusta*]. [*xvii. K. Mai. eo die Caesar primum imperator appellatus est Supplicatio Felicitati Imperi*]. Subsequently he was proclaimed *Imperator* twenty times.

quarta] about 10 p.m.

5. *redit*] So the mss. For the historical present appearing with past tenses in narrative, cp. Dräger i. 230-1, who quotes, among many other passages, Caes. B. G. i. 46, 2, *Caesar loquendi finem facit seque ad suos recepit*.

partem maiorem] The fifth legion does not appear to have engaged at all in the battle of Forum Gallorum, though Cicero implies that it did (Phil. xiv. 27, *cum tribus Antonii legionibus*). It played a vigorous part twelve days later at the battle of Mutina: cp. 890, 4.

Aquilae] standards of the legions; *signa*, ensigns of the maniples: cp. Dict. Antiq. iii². 672. There were 30 maniples in each legion; so, if Galba is to be believed, all the standards of Antony's two legions were captured.

Res bene gesta est] 'It was a victory for us,' 'we won the day.' *πῶλυ ἐκπύτησεν*, Dio Cass. xlv. 37, 7.

A. d. xvii. Kalendas Maias] The mss give *a. d. xii*. Though accepted by Lange (R. A. iii. 533, note 14), this is quite impossible. Galba obviously wrote the day after the battle, otherwise he would have mentioned events which took place later than the night after the battle, especially the wound which Pansa received. Of this he probably knew nothing on the day after the battle, as Pansa had been brought to Bononia, but he cannot have been ignorant of it much longer. Besides, this date (April 16) will admit of Cicero's having received the letter before he delivered Phil. xiv. (April 22): cp. §§ 26, 27, of that speech.

DCCCXLII. (BRUT. II. 5).

DCCCXLII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 5).

ROME; APRIL 14; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero de tota belli constitutione quid sentiat perscribit et Brutum ad maiorem tatem rei p. causa excitat.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

. Quae litterae tuo nomine recitatae sint Id. April. in senatu
mque tempore Antonii, credo ad te scripsisse tuos, quorum
nemini concedo; sed nihil necesse erat eadem omnes, illud
sse me ad te scribere, quid sentirem tota de constitutione
s belli et quo iudicio essem quaque sententia. Voluntas mea,
te, de summa re publica semper eadem fuit, quae tua, ratio
usdam in rebus—non enim omnibus—paullo fortasse vehe-
tior. Scis mihi semper placuisse non rege solum, sed regno
ari rem publicam: tu lenius, immortalis omnino cum tua

ardoremque restinximus. 2. Itaque res in eum locum venerat, ut, nisi Caesari Octaviano deus quidam illam mentem dedisset, in potestatem perditissimi hominis et turpissimi M. Antonii veniendum fuerit, quocum vides hoc tempore ipso quod sit quantumque certamen: id profecto nullum esset, nisi tum conservatus esset Antonius. Sed haec omitto: res enim a te gesta memorabilis et paene caelestis repellit omnes reprehensiones, quippe quae ne laude quidem satis idonea affici possit. Exstitisti nuper vultu severo; exercitum, copias, legiones idoneas per te brevi tempore comparasti: di immortales! qui ille nuntius, quae illae litterae, quae laetitia senatus, quae alacritas civitatis erat! nihil umquam vidi tam omnium consensione laudatum. Erat expectatio reliquiarum Antonii, quem equitatu legionibusque magna ex parte spoliaras: ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem; nam tuae litterae, quae reicitatae in senatu sunt, et imperatoris et militum virtutem et industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei, declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his litteris referri et nisi in tempus turbulentis-

2. nisi . . . dedisset] cp. Phil. v. 43, *quis tum nobis quis populo Romano obtulit hanc divinum adolescentem deus*: xiii. 18. The reference is to Octavian's raising of forces, and marching to the defence of Rome in November 44: cp. Phil. iii. 3-6.

repellit omnes reprehensiones] Streng (p. 116) thinks that possibly Cicero is translating the Greek verse quoted by him, Att. xiv. 22, 2 (729), ἅλλοις ἐν δσθλοῖς τόνδ' ἀπαθοῦνται φόγον.

affici] 'greeted with sufficient laudations': cp. 825, 2, *te . . . honoribus amplissimis affectum*.

vultu severo] cp. Att. xiv. 20, 5 (727), *non te Brutus nostri culticulus ab ista oratione deleteret*; xv. 12, 1 (745), *noster vero καὶ μᾶλα σεμνὸς in Asiam*.

qui ille nuntius] This was the first despatch which Brutus sent: it announced the blockade of C. Antonius in Apollonia, and was the occasion of Phil. x.

Erat . . . Antonii] 'We were in expectation of news concerning the remnants of the forces of Antonius.'

nam tuae litterae] This was the second despatch: it announced the capture of C. Antonius.

Ciceronis mei] Plutarch (Brut. 26) relates that prior to his blockade, C. Antonius had attempted to seize some

forts near Byllis, but was routed in a pitched battle by young Cicero. Brutus probably did not mention those who had distinguished themselves in the campaign against C. Antonius until he wrote the official account of its successful result.

tempus turbulentissimum] Pansa left Rome on March 19, on the evening of which day the letter of Brutus arrived. On that day that letter was read along with the letter of Lepidus advocating peace. On the subject of this letter Cicero delivered Phil. xiii., strongly opposing any negotiations for peace. The letter of Plancus advocating peace does not appear to have been read until after the delivery of Phil. xiii.: cp. § 16, where Plancus is represented as having large forces to fight with: Schmidt, Cass. p. 31, note 1. The speech was so earnestly directed against any peace proposals that it only incidentally mentions the capture of C. Antonius (§§ 30, 32). In the letters written by Cicero on March 20, viz. 826 to Plancus, 827 to Lepidus, no mention of the capture of C. Antonius is made, partly because Cicero had enough to say in censuring them for their peace proposals, and partly because, as Caesarians, they could not be very much pleased at any signal success gained by Brutus: cp. introductory note to 826.

DCCCXLII. (BRUT. II. 5).

um post discessum Pansae consulis incidissent, honos quoque
us et debitus dis immortalibus decretus esset. 3. Ecce tibi
o. April. advolat mane Celer Pilius, qui vir, di boni, quam
vis, quam constans, quam bonarum in re publica partium! hic
stolas adfert duas, unam tuo nomine, alteram Antonii; dat
vilio tribuno plebis, ille Cornuto: recitantur in senatu. AN-
IVS PROCOS.: magna admiratio, ut si esset recitatum DOLABELLA
ERATOR, a quo quidem venerant tabellarii, sed nemo Pili
ilis, qui proferre litteras auderet aut magistratibus reddere.
ae recitantur, breves illae quidem, sed in Antonium admodum
es: vehementer admiratus senatus; mihi autem non erat ex-
atum, quid agerem: falsas dicerem? quid, si tu eas appro-
ses? confirmarem? non erit dignitatis tuae. 4. Itaque ille
s silentio; postridie autem, cum sermo increbruisset Piliusque
los vehementius hominum offendisset, natum omnino est prin-

cidissent] cp. Fam. ii. 3, 1 (169);
, 4 (249).

Ecce tibi] Streng (p. 118) notes
in rapid narratives and accounts of
eedings in the senate Cicero is fond
hort sentences and of an elliptical

procos.] In February the province
of Macedonia had been consigned by the
senate to Q. Hortensius; and the senate
were astonished that Brutus could ever
have allowed C. Antonius, his prisoner of
war, to arrogate to himself the title of

cipium a me : de proconsule Antonio multa ; Sestius causae non defuit : post meum, quanto suum filium, quanto meum in periculo futurum duceret, si contra proconsulem arma tulissent ; nosti hominem : causae *tamen* non defuit. Dixerunt etiam alii ; Labeo vero noster nec signum tuum in epistola nec diem appositum nec te scripsisse ad tuos, ut soleres : hoc cogere volebat, falsas litteras esse et, si quaeris, probabat. 5. Nunc tuum est consilium, Brute, de toto genere belli. Video te lenitate delectari et eum putare fructum esse maximum, praeolare quidem, sed aliis rebus, aliis temporibus locus esse solet debetque clementiae : nunc quid agitur, Brute ? Templis deorum immortalium imminet hominum egentium et perditorum spes nec quidquam aliud decernitur hoc bello, nisi utrum simus neque. Cui parcimus aut quid agimus ? His ergo consulimus, quibus victoribus vestigium nostrum nullum relinquetur ? Nam quid interest inter Dolabellam et quemvis Antoniorum trium ? Quorum si cui parcimus, duri fuimus in Dolabella. Haec ut ita sentiret senatus populusque Romanus, etsi res ipsa cogebat, tamen maxima ex parte nostro consilio atque auctoritate perfectum est. Tu si hanc rationem non probas, tuam sententiam defendam, non relinquam meam : neque dissolutum a

contra proconsulem] Sestius appears to have been a stupid man. His literary style was atrocious : cp. note to Att. viii. 17, 2 (315). Here he professes a fear that, inasmuch as Brutus had tolerated that C. Antonius should style himself procos, perhaps he is a proconsul ; and Sestius opines, that it may prove a very serious matter for his and Cicero's sons if they are found bearing arms against a proconsul ; they would, he urged, be traitors (cp. Phil. iii. 14). As the argument was characteristic of Sestius, Cicero adds *nostis hominem*.

causae tamen non defuit] We have added *tamen*, as there must be some adversative conjunction with this clause, unless, indeed, we strike out the clause altogether, and suppose that it crept in from the same words two lines before. But Cicero not uncommonly repeats himself in this fashion, generally with *inquam* : cp. Att. i. 16, 4 (22) ; x. 6, 2 (386).

Labeo] cp. 915, 1. He was one of the murderers of Caesar (Plut. Brut. 12), and lieutenant of Brutus in 712 (42). After the battle of Philippi his freedman slew

him at his own bidding, App. iv. 135.

cogere] 'to infer' : cp. Leg. ii. 33, *sunt autem ea quae posui ex quibus id quod volumus efficitur et cogitur*.

5. *lenitate*] From this word, and from *probabat*, we see that Cicero believed that the letter was genuine.

eum . . . maximum] We should expect *eius*. The *lenitas* was not the fruit, but the seed, from which an abundant harvest would be reaped.

Templis] cp. Phil. viii. 8 ; xiv. 27.

spes] Meyer (p. 115) wishes for a stronger word here, such as *mendicitas* (Phil. v. 20), or *homines egentes et perditi*.

nisi . . . neque] cp. for the anxiety at this time Phil. xiv. 10 (delivered March 21), *aut foedissimam omnes aut miserabilem fugam cogitabant*.

in Dolabella] 'in the case of D.' : cp. 807, 3, *eius voluntatem perspicimus in Casca* ; 902, 2 : 914, 10.

Haec ut ita] For this slight redundancy *haec—ita*, cp. 798, *quod quidem ita credo*, and Madv. on Fin. ii. 17.

dissolutum . . . crudele] 'lax,' . . . 'unduly harsh' : cp. 844, 3 ; Att. i. 19, 8

te quidquam homines expectant nec crudele; huius rei moderatio facilis est, ut in duces vehemens sis, in milites liberalis. 6. Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas: virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. xviii. Kalend. Maias.

DCCCXLIII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 3-6).

ROME; APRIL 17 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 63.

Quaerit Cicero de Dolabella, monetque Brutum ne nimium sit erga Antonium clemens.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

3. . . . Te benevolentiam exercitus equitumque expertum vehementer gaudeo. 4. De Dolabella, ut scribis, si quid habebis novi, facies me certiore, in quo delector me ante providisse, ut

(25), nihil iam denique a me asperum in quemquam fit nec tamen quicquam populare ac dissolutum. The word *dissolutum* is applied to conduct which, from want of firm principle, is not sufficiently resolute in dealing with enemies of the state, or with demagogic faction.

moderatio] 'middle course.'

6. *imitationem tui*] For a similar compliment cp. Fam. i. 7, 11 (114), *tum imprimis imitatione tui fac erudias: nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina.*

xviii. Kal. Maias] April 14. The MSS give xiii. Schmidt (Cass., p. 39) thinks that the quiet tone of this letter points to a time before April 19, 20, when the Antonian party appear to have been planning the murder of Cicero, and attempting something like a *coup d'état* (cp. Phil. xiv. 15); though the riot would appear, from § 5 above, to have been already brewing. This is a strong argument against the received date. Schmidt proposes to alter xiii. to xvi.: cp. the variations of M¹ and M² in 867 fin.; also notes to 860, 3; 840, 1; and Fam. xiv. 4, 3 (62). Gurlitt (Philol. Suppl. iv. 564), argues further, that Cicero probably wrote at once after the acceptance by the senate of Laeius's view that the letter of Brutus was

a forgery: that was on April 14. We have, accordingly, adopted this reading.

Gurlitt (Philol. Suppl. iv. 564 ff.) has discussed with much acuteness the difficulties in this letter: cp. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 114). The beginning of it is not forthcoming. A sheet of the archetype, containing the conclusion of 874 and beginning of 843 has been lost. Both 874 and 843 appear as one letter in the MSS; yet they are quite distinct, and the one chronologically prior appears in the archetype as the second part of Brut. i. 2. It is chronologically prior, as it treats of C. Antonius exactly in the tone of 842, and does not presuppose the extended knowledge of Dolabella's proceedings which Cicero had when he wrote 874. It was probably written about April 17, shortly before the news of the battle of Forum Gallorum reached Rome. We must alter xii. Kal. to xv.: cp. note to 842 fin. This date will also account for the absence of all allusion to the terrorism which the Antonians spread through the city during April 18 to 20 (837, 2). If we retain xii. Kal. we must suppose that Cicero wrote and despatched this letter in the early morning of the 20th, before the news of

tuum iudicium liberum esset cum Dolabella belli gerendi: id valde pertinuit, ut ego tum intellegebam, ad rem publicam, ut nunc iudico, ad dignitatem tuam. 5. Quod scribis me maximo otio egisse, ut insectarer Antonios, idque laudas, credo ita videri tibi, sed illam distinctionem tuam nullo pacto probo: scribis enim acrius prohibenda bella civilia esse quam in superatos iracundiam exercendam. Vehementer a te, Brute, dissentio, nec clementiae tuae concedo, sed salutaris severitas vincit inanem speciem clementiae; quod si clementes esse volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia. Sed de hoc tu videris: de me possum idem, quod Plautinus pater in Trinummo:

Mihi quidem aetas acta ferme est: tua istuc refert maxime.

6. Opprimemini, mihi crede, Brute, nisi provideritis; neque enim populum semper eundem habebitis neque senatum neque senati ducem. Haec ex oraculo Apollinis Pythii edita tibi puta: nihil potest esse verius. xv. Kal. Maias.

the victory arrived. If we hold with Ruete (p. 82), that the two letters are really one, as they appear in the mss, we have to alter *Maias* to *Iunias*—a violent proceeding—and to suppose in the latter part an awkward recurrence to the affairs of Dolabella and C. Antonius.

4. *ut tuum iudicium liberum esset*] cp. 842, 1. In *ante providiam* Cicero appears to be alluding to his words in Phil. xi. 26, 27.

5. *maximo otio*] Ruete (p. 108) reads *maximo negotio*, 'with infinite labour': cp. Caes. B. G. v. 11, 2, *ut reliquae naves refecti posse magno negotio viderentur*; Bell. Alex. 8; Fam. ii. 10, 3 (225); Att. v. 12, 1 (202); xiv. 13 b, 2 (717). Manutius suggested *animo*, Lambinus *odio*. We thought at one time that possibly the reading may have been *e maximo otio exisse*, 'have left the most perfect leisure to come and attack Antony.' For *magnum* applied to *otium*, cp. Off. i. 77; the usual word is *summum*. But Gurlitt (p. 572) is right in thinking that the mss reading *otio* is sound; for Brutus, when he wrote the letter which Cicero is answering, did not know definitely what attitude Cicero was

taking up as regards C. Antonius. We may suppose that he said, 'you are proceeding very leisurely (*maximo otio agis*) to the attack on the Antonii, and in that I think you are wise.' Brutus was at this time in favour of mild treatment of C. Antonius.

sed . . . clementiae] cp. Amm. Maro. xxix. 5, 24, *agebat autem haec Tullianum illud advertens quod salutaris rigor vincit inanem speciem clementiae. in Trinummo*] ii. 2, 42.

6. *provideritis*] So Poggio's ms = M 49, 24: cp. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 181), who quotes Petrarch De remediis utr. fort. ii. 117, p. 234. *opprimemini, mihi crede, Brute, inquit [Cicero], nisi provideritis*: cp. Viertel, p. 29. *Provideatis* MH (= Harl. 2491); *provideatis* (Wölffenbüttel ms); *provideris* (Dresd.). The reading of M is, however, defensible; 908, 1, *hoc si a te impetro nihil profecto dubitabis*: Fam. iii. 7, 5 (244), *tu si aliter existimas nihil errabis*; Petit. Cons. 38 (12): cp. 848, 2. *Apollinis*] cp. Ter. Andr. iv. 2, 15, *non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsum est*; Tusc. i. 17; Lucr. i. 738. xv. Kal. Maias] see introd. note.

DCCOXLIV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 3, §§ 1-3).

ROME; APRIL 21; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero Octavianum laudat et laetitiam Romae e victoria consulum et D. Bruti ortam commemorat. Liberalitatem eius in seditionis auctoribus reprehendi Romae scribit.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Nostrae res meliore loco videbantur; scripta enim ad te certo scio, quae gesta sunt. Quales tibi saepe scripsi consules esse tales exstiterunt. Caesaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis: utinam tam facile eum florentem et honoribus et gratia regere ac tenere possimus, quam facile adhuc tenuimus! est omnino illud difficilius, sed tamen non diffidimus; persuasum est enim adolescenti, et maxime per me, eius opera nos esse salvos, et certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, perissent omnia. 2. Triduo vero aut quadriduo ante hanc rem pulcherrimam timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum coniugibus et liberis effundebat; eadem recreata a. d. XII. Kal. Maias te huc venire quam se ad te

That Brut. i. 3, as given in the mss, consists of two letters, written at an interval of some days from one another, is certain. The first three paragraphs were written shortly after the news of the battle of Forum Gallorum arrived, probably on April 21. The consuls are evidently thought of as still alive (§ 1). In § 4 (Ep. 846) the battle of Mutina, the death of the consuls, and the flight of Antony are related, the news of which cannot have been known in Rome before the 26th.

1. *Nostrae res . . . videbantur*] These words are a perfect sigh of relief. 'We are better now.'

consules esse] We have ventured to add *esse*. 'The consuls have shown themselves of the character of which I always told you they were'; though, indeed, it is not absolutely necessary to add anything: cp. 852, 4, *Pansa viro celeriora omnia putabamus*, *sc. fore*. Cicero elsewhere speaks of the dilatoriness of the

consuls (836, 1, note; 897, 2); and he was alive to their shortcomings (cp. Att. xiv. 9, 2 (712); 12, 2 (715); 19, 2 (725); xv. 1, 3 (730), *οὐδὲν ὀκνίς*). He says they have shown themselves the same as ever, viz. half-hearted, indolent men, who would fight indeed when they were compelled, but not otherwise; whereas Octavian had the real manliness of true-born, native valour.

indoles virtutis] 'natural manliness': cp. Off. iii. 16; Phil. v. 47.

persuasum est enim] The argument is, that it is not likely that the young Octavian will imperil, by any act of disloyalty, the high honours which his elders have showered upon him. It is as true that you love the man you have benefited as that you hate the man you have injured; and, besides there is nothing which links the inferior to the superior more than a feeling in the inferior that he has really done a service to his superior, and that the service has been gratefully recognized.]

ire malebat: quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum multarumque vigiliarum fructum cepi maximum—si modo est aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria—; nam tantae multitudinis, quantam capit urbs nostra, concursus est ad me factus, a qua usque in Capitolium deductus maximo clamore atque plausu in rostris collocatus sum: nihil est in me inane—neque enim debet—, sed tamen omnium ordinum consensus, gratiarum actio gratulatioque me commovet propterea, quod popularem me esse in populi salute praeclarum est. 3. Sed haec te malo ab aliis. Me velim de tuis rebus consiliisque facias diligentissime certiores illudque consideres, ne tua liberalitas dissolutior videatur: sic sentit senatus, sic populus Romanus, nullos umquam hostes digniores omni supplicio fuisse quam eos cives, qui hoc bello contra patriam arma ceperunt, quos quidem ego omnibus sententiis ulciscor et persequor omnibus bonis approbantibus. Tu quid de hac re sentias, tui iudicii est: ego sic sentio, trium fratrum unam et eandem esse causam.

2. *in rostris*] It has been objected to this sentence, that it implies that the *rostra* was in the Capitol, and it is held that Cicero could not have made such a mistake. But neither could the forger, who is supposed to have lived not more than a generation or so after Cicero. Certainly *suggestus*, or *tribunal*, would more naturally be used for any other pulpit than the one in the Forum. Possibly we should supply <et postea reductus> or something of the kind after *deductus*.

nihil est in me inane] So Cicero writes to Brutus; but to Atticus he unlocks his heart, ii. 17, 2 (44), *quod est subinane in nobis et non ἀφιλόδοξον*.

quod . . . praeclarum] 'for it is an event of exceeding great glory that I, Cicero, should be the idol of the people

when effecting their safety.' Cicero never had much sympathy with the democracy, and accordingly was not a favourite with the people. In his opinion, the people were constantly clamouring for what was not for their real good, or for the good of the whole community. But now they see that he is furthering their interests, and defending the state, and Cicero feels that their applause in such a case was a thing to be proud of.

3. *ab aliis*] so. *certiores fieri*.

dissolutior] 'to show undue laxity': cp. 842, 5. Cicero is, doubtless, alluding to the course which Brutus should take as regards C. Antonius.

trium fratrum] Marcus, Lucius, and Gaius Antonius. Lucius was in the army of Marcus.



PART XI.

GRAVIUS AEGROTANT II, QUI, CUM LEVATI MORBO VIDERENTUR
IN EUM DE INTEGRO INCIDERUNT.



PART XI.

LETTERS FROM THE BATTLE OF MUTINA TO THE END OF THE
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. DCCCXLV.-DCCCCXVI.

APRIL TO JULY.

A. U. C.	.	.	.	.	.	.	711
B. C.	.	.	.	.	.	.	43
AET. CIC.	.	.	.	.	.	.	63



DCCCXLV. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 9).

GALLIA NARBONENSIS, NEAR VIENNE; APRIL 27 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711;
B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus suum rei publicae studium prae se fert, dignitatem suam commendat, et quid egerit et quid acturus sit exponit, exercitum laudat.

PLANCUS CICERONI S.

1. Nihil me tibi temere aut te ceteris de me frustra recepisse laetor. Certe hoc maius habes testimonium amoris mei, quo maturius tibi quam ceteris consilia mea volui esse nota. In dies vero meritorum meorum fieri accessiones pervidere te spero: cogniturum magis recipio. 2. Quod ad me attinet, mi Cicero—ita ab imminetibus malis res publica me adiuvante liberetur!—sic honores praemiaque vestra suspicio, conferenda certe cum immortalitate, ut sine his nihil de meo studio perseverantiaque sim remissurus. Nisi in multitudine optimorum civium impetus animi mei fuerit singularis et opera praecipua, nihil ad meam dignitatem accidere volo suffragatione vestra. 3. Concupisco autem nihil mihi—contra quod ipse pugno—, et temporis et rei te moderatorem facile patior esse. Nihil aut sero aut exigue a patria civi tributum potest videri. Exercitum a. d. vi. Kal.

1. *Nihil . . . nota*] 'I am glad that I made no rash promises to you, or that you made no fruitless promises to the rest about me. Of a truth you have a greater evidence of my affection for you in this that I wished you to have information of my plans before the rest.' For *hoc . . . quo* instead of the more usual *eo . . . quo*, cp. Rosc. Com. 31.

2. *sic . . . ut*] A variation of *ita . . . ut*. 'While I regard . . . yet.' Rhodius (p. 17) calls this the adversative *ut*. *suspicio*] 'look up to with admiration.' Cp. Off. ii. 36; Horace, Epp. i. 6, 18.

studio perseverantiaque] 'unswerving devotion.'

Nisi . . . vestra] 'If it be not that among the great number of patriotic citizens my devotion is pre-eminent and my exertions signal, I do not wish to obtain any addition to my distinctions by your support.'

3. *Concupisco . . . videri*] 'But covetousness of honour for myself does not actuate me—nay I even fight against it—and I willingly leave you to be the judge of the time and amount of it. No honour bestowed on a citizen by his country can seem either late or paltry.'

Maias Rhodanum traieci magnis itineribus. Vienna equites mille via breviorae praemisi. Ipse, si ab Lepido non impediatur, celeritate satis faciam: si autem is itineri meo se opposuerit, ad tempus consilium capiam. Copias adduco et numero et genere et fidelitate firmissimas. Te, ut diligas me, si mutuo te facturum scis, rogo. Vale.

DCCCXLVI. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 3, § 4)

ROME; APRIL 27 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Consules amissos esse et omnes Antonianos hostes iudicatos esse scribit.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

4. Consules duos, bonos quidem, sed dumtaxat bonos [consules], amisimus: Hirtius quidem in ipsa victoria occidit, cum paucis diebus ante magno proelio vicisset; nam Pansa fugerat vulneribus acceptis, quae ferre non potuit. Reliquias hostium Brutus persequitur et Caesar; hostes autem omnes iudicati, qui M. Antonii

opposuerit] So H Pal; M has the old form, *opposierit*, which Mendelssohn and Rhodius (p. 2) read—perhaps rightly.

et numero . . . firmissimas] 'Most strong in numbers, character, and loyalty': *genere* means that they were experienced legionary soldiers, not mere recruits.

Te . . . scis] 'I beg you to give me your affection as you know that you will be reciprocating it.'

See introductory note to 844 for the reason why this section is regarded as a separate letter. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1884, p. 624: 1890, p. 112) thinks that we should consider only the portion from *Consules to Caesar* as a distinct letter from 844; but we can see no special reason for this view (cp. note to § 4 fin.); and it is more difficult to suppose that such a brief and fragmentary letter was inserted in the middle of another than either that two letters were joined to one another (cp. 825, 851), or that Cicero wrote 844 on April 22, but did not despatch it, and added the letter before us as a postscript on April 27 after the news of the Battle of Mutina had arrived.

4. *dumtaxat bonos*] 'only patriotic.'

Their principles and loyalty were unimpeachable (897, 1), but they lacked spirit, energy, and military skill (836, 1). Of course their loss was regarded both by Cicero (851, 6) and D. Brutus (847, 1) as a serious blow to the State, for at this crisis it was of the highest importance to have really loyal men at the head of the armies.

magno proelio] the Battle of Forum Gallorum.

nam] The thought is: (I only mention Hirtius as having fallen in the battle) for Pansa fled.

fugerat] rather too strong a word, cp. Phil. xiv. 26 ff. Cicero implies that Pansa had not borne his wounds with sufficient fortitude, and that he was thus to blame, as far as physical courage was concerned, in that he retired to Bononia after having been wounded. He ought, in Cicero's opinion, to have remained near Mutina at the head of his army. For Pansa's wounds cp. 890, 4 Phil. xiv. 26, 36.

et Caesar] This was a false rumour, but it arose naturally, as it was the general expectation that Octavian would of course

sectam secuti sunt, idque senatus consultum plerique interpretantur etiam ad tuos sive captivos sive dediticios pertinere: equidem nihil disserui durius, cum nominatim de C. Antonio decernerem, quod ita statueram, a te cognoscere causam eius senatum oportere. v. Kal. Maias.

DCCCXLVII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 9).

REGIUM LEPIDI; APRIL 29; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus Ciceronem hortatur ut operam det, ne consulibus amissis hostes rei publicae invalescant.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Pansa amisso quantum detrimenti res publica acceperit non te praeterit. Nunc auctoritate et prudentia tua prospicias oportet,

pursue Antony. A considerable time elapsed before definite news of affairs at Mutina arrived at Rome. On May 5 Cicero writes to Plancus that the flight of Antony is known only by report, 853, 1 *fugisse enim ex proelio Mutinensi dicuntur notissimi latronum duces*.

hostes autem omnes iudicati] But you must know all have been judged enemies. We should much prefer *enim*, as the clause expresses the reason for the use of *hostium* in the previous sentence. This outlawry of Antony and his followers who were Roman citizens was probably passed on the 26th; for on the 27th the question was discussed as to what action was to be taken against them (852, 1). These dates are not invalidated by the fact that Cicero calls the forces of Antony *hostes* in Phil. xiv. 36-38 (delivered April 21st), for he is there using the word informally in the sense of 'opponents,' and not in that of regularly declared enemies of the State: if the sentence of outlawry had been passed he would have emphasised the word by the addition of a clause referring to that sentence.

sectam secuti sunt] 'who followed the lead of': cp. Naevius (fr. 5 Bährens), *Eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales* (of Aeneas and Anchises flying from Troy to Italy): cp. Sest. 97, Caes. 40.

v. Kal. Maias] The mss give x., but we must alter to v. (cp. note to 842 fin.),

as the news of the Battle of Mutina cannot have reached Rome earlier than April 26th. Errors in numerals are common, and it is simpler to assume this error than to suppose with Schmidt that a few lines (see introd. note) were embedded into the middle of a letter.

After his release from Mutina, on April 23rd, D. Brutus had a fruitless interview with Octavian. On the morning of the 23rd he received a summons to visit the dying Pansa at Bononia: on the way he heard of Pansa's death, and returned to his army. On the 24th (two full days after the departure of Antony, *biduo* 869, 2) he started westward; but probably, with his enfeebled army, he spent two days on the march, so that he reached Regium Lepidi on the evening of the 25th. Schelle (p. 17) thinks that this letter was written on the 26th, and that we should alter *iii* to *vi* (cp. note to 842 fin.): but it is more probable that he remained three days at Regium Lepidi, letting his army recruit after their privations during the siege of Mutina, and collecting cavalry, provisions, baggage animals, &c. (869, 1); and that he started regularly in pursuit of Antony on the 29th, after having despatched this letter to Cicero: cp. Schmidt, Jahrb. 1892, p. 328.

1. *amisso*] Early on the 23rd, Pansa died in Bononia.

ne inimici nostri consulibus sublati sperent se convalescere posse. Ego, ne consistere possit in Italia Antonius, dabo operam. Sequar eum confestim. Utrumque me praestaturum spero, ne aut Ventidius elabatur aut Antonius in Italia moretur. In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum, Lepidum, mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit Antonio sibi coniuncto. Nam de Pollione Asinio puto te perspicere quid factururus sit. Multae et bonae et firmae sunt legiones Lepidi et Asinii. 2. Neque haec idcirco tibi scribo, quod te non eadem animadvertere sciam, sed quod mihi persuasissimum est Lepidum recte facturum numquam, si forte vobis id de hoc dubium est. Plancum quoque confirmetis oro, quem spero pulso Antonio rei publicae non defuturum. Si se Alpes Antonius traiecerit, constitui praesidium in Alpibus collocare et te de omni re facere certiore. III. Kal. Maias, ex castris, Regio.

ne . . . Antonius] 'that Antonius be not able to keep a footing in Italy.'

praestaturum . . . ne] 'succeed in hindering': cp. 901, 4.

Ventidius] He was leading three legions from Picenum to Antony. He afterwards joined him at Vada Sabatia (854, 3).

ventosissimum] 'that weathercock' (Jeans). For *ventosus* cp. Phil. xi. 17; Hor. Ep. i. 8, 12; 19, 37.

Nam] The argument is—I do not ask you to write to Pollio; for you, as his friend, of course know his sentiments and his plans. D. Brutus seems to feel little doubt that Pollio will act honourably.

Pollione Asinio] See note to Fam. viii. 11, 2 (267), for the cognomen placed before the *nomen*.

Multae] Lepidus had 7 legions (App. iii. 84); Pollio had 3 (cp. 896, 4).

2. *sciam*] The subj. is used, because this is not the real reason: cp. Fam. ix.

1, 2 (456), *etsi non idcirco eorum usum dimiseram quod eis succenserem sed quod eorum me subpudebat*. The stock ex. is Tusc. ii. 56: cp. Roby, 1745.

persuasissimum] cp. Colum. xii. 1, 5, *ea porro persuasissimum habere debet*: Suet. Nero 29, *comperi persuasissimum habuisse eum*.

si forte . . . est] 'if perchance you may have a doubt about that trait in him.' Ernesti, with some mss, omits *id*: but the personal construction is allowable: cp. Fam. iv. 15, 1 (484), *cognovi autem id quod mihi dubium non fuit*.

Si se . . . traiecerit] For the double acc. cp. 900, 4, *si quo etiam casu Isaram se traiecerint*.

Regio] Regium Lepidi (825, 1), or Regium Lepidum (Tac. Hist. ii. 50), a town on the Aemilian road, between Mutina and Parma, probably built by M. Aemilius Lepidus, cons. 567 (187), who made the road; now Reggio.

DCCCXLVIII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 11).

COUNTRY OF ALLOBROGES; APRIL (END); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;
AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus gratias agit propter eius benevolentiam Ciceroni et de suo in rem publicam studio adseverat.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Immortales ago tibi gratias agamque, dum vivam: nam relaturum me adfirmare non possum. Tantis enim tuis officiis non videor mihi respondere posse, nisi forte, ut tu gravissime disertissimeque scripsisti, ita sensurus es, ut me referre gratiam putes, cum memoria tenebo. Si de filii tui dignitate esset actum, amabilius certe nihil facere potuisses. Primae tuae sententiae infinitis cum muneribus, posteriores ad tempus arbitriumque amicorum meorum compositae, oratio adsidua et perpetua de me, iurgia cum obtrectatoribus propter me notissima mihi sunt: non mediocris adhibenda mihi est cura, ut rei publicae me civem dignum tuis laudibus praestem, in amicitia tua memorem atque gratum. Quod reliquum

The date of this letter can be approximately fixed by the fact that on the one hand the country of the Allobroges is about 350 miles from Mutina, so that it would have taken a messenger 7 days to reach Plancus with news of the battle (§ 2); and on the other that Plancus had not crossed the Isara, which he did on May 12, cp. 860, 3.

1. The first § is an answer to 838.

Immortales . . . gratias] 'I tender undying thanks' (verbal): *relaturum* 'that I shall repay' (in deed). For *immortales* cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148), *immortaliter gaudeo*.

respondere] 'to requite,' cp. Fam. xv. 21, 3 (450), *cui quidem ego amori utinam ceteris rebus possem! amore certe respondebo*.

scripsisti] If a letter is referred to here it has been lost. Andresen, however, after Nake, supposes that Plancus is alluding to the celebrated (cp. Gell. i. 4, 6) passage in the Pro Plancio 68, *gratiam autem, et qui refert, habet, et qui*

habet, in eo ipso, quod habet, refert.

ita sensurus es ut . . . putes] 'you shall be minded to consider.'

cum . . . tenebo] cp. Fin. iii. 9, *praeclare facis cum et eorum memoriam tenes*. For the fut. indicative in dependent sentences of the oratio obliqua, cp. Off. iii. 121, *persuade te nullo fore cariorum si talibus monumentis laetabere*, where Heine compares Phil. viii. 27 (*obtinebunt*): xi. 30 (*obtinebit*).

Primae tuae . . . muneribus] 'your first motions were coupled with unbounded grants to me.' Plancus is referring to the motions of Cicero on April 8, 9 (838, 3, 4).

oratio . . . mihi sunt] 'concerning your constant and lengthy speeches in my interests, and your altercations with my traducers on my behalf I am fully informed': *oratio perpetua* is a regular set speech in opposition to *iurgia*, an altercation: it is opposed to *altercatio* in Att. i. 16, 8 (22). The traducer specially referred to is P. Servilius (838, 3).

est, tuum munus tuere et me, si, quem esse voluisti, eum exitu rebusque cognoscis, defende ac suscipe. 2. Cum Rhodanum copias traiecissem fratremque cum tribus milibus equitum praemissem, ipse iter ad Mutinam dirigerem, in itinere de proelio facto Brutoque et Mutina obsidione liberatis audiui. Animadverti nullum alium receptum Antonium reliquiasque, quae cum eo essent, habere nisi in his partibus, duasque ei spes esse propositas, unam Lepidi ipsius, alteram exercitus. Quod quaedam pars exercitus non minus furiosa est, quam qui cum Antonio fuerunt, equitatum revocavi; ipse in Allobrogibus constitui, ut proinde ad omnia paratus essem ac res me moneret. Si nudus hoc se Antonius confert, facile mihi videor per me sustinere posse remque publicam ex vestra sententia administrare, quamvis ab exercitu Lepidi recipiatur: si vero copiarum aliquid secum adducet et si decima legio veterana, quae nostra opera revocata cum reliquis est, ad eundem furorem redierit, tamen, ne quid detrimenti fiat, dabitur opera a

si . . . cognoscis] 'if by the issue and event you know me to be the Plancus you wished me to be.' The indicative *voluisti* is used, and not *voveris*, as the statement is more strictly referred to the actual man Plancus than if he had said 'if you-know me to be the sort of man you wished me to be.' H reads *cognosces*, perhaps rightly.

suscipe] cp. Vatinius ap. Fam. v. 9, 1 (639), *suscipe meme totum*; Fam. xvi. 12, 6 (312), *susciperet et tueretur* (Andr.).

2. *traiecissem*] This took place on April 26 (845, 3).

fratrem] cp. note to 826, 1.

ad Mutinam] He had been urged to this by Cicero: cp. 834, 2, *opitulare collegae*.

in his partibus] So the mss. Wesenberg (E. A. 34) alters to *in has partes*. He holds that, as it is necessary to say *recipere se in locum*, one must say *in locum receptus*; for he considers that *receptus* means 'a retreating,' not 'a refuge'; but cp. Verg. Aen. xi. 527, *tutique receptus*, where Nettleship (though reading *recessus*) says *receptus* means 'a place of retreat.'

Lepidi ipsius] 'on Lepidus himself' objective genit.

fuerunt] The perfect tense is used because Plancus supposed that the army of Antony was totally destroyed.

nudus] sc. *copiis* 'without any forces.'

For *nudus* used absolutely (and not in the literal sense of 'naked') cp. Verr. v. 110. Note the present tense *confert*, which expresses the more likely of the two alternatives, while the future *adducet* expresses the less likely one. Andresen compares Liv. xxiii. 13, 5, *ego si quis de pace consulat . . . habeo quid sententiae dicam: si de his quae Mugo postulat refertis nec victoribus mitti adtinere puto*. For present in protasis, and future in apodosis, Lehmann (p. 89) compares Fam. xv. 9, 2 (216) *Unum vero si addis . . . putabo*: cp. 843, 6.

hoc] This is the old form of *huc*, and should be read as it is found in MH repeatedly, 861, 5, 6; 895, 6; 854, 3. In the passage before us H has *huc*, but M has *hoc*: cp. Neue ii³. 613, 614.

sustinere] 'resist,' 'hold out': cp. 835, 2.

decima legio] This famous legion, which had been so loyal (B. G. i. 40) and so disloyal to Caesar (Suet. Jul. 70), was now under the command of Lepidus (App. iii. 83), but favourably inclined to their former leader, Antony, τό τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος ἐξεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

revocata] 'brought back to their allegiance': *revocare* is commonly used of bringing anything back to its normal condition.

me, idque me praestaturum spero, dum istinc copiae traiciantur coniunctaeque nobiscum facilius perditos opprimant. 3. Hoc tibi spondeo, mi Cicero, neque animum nec diligentiam mihi defuturam. Cupio mehercules nullam residuam sollicitudinem esse, sed si fuerit, nec animo nec benevolentiae nec patientiae cuiusquam pro vobis cedam. Do quidem ego operam, ut etiam Lepidum ad huius rei societatem incitem, omniaque ei obsequia polliceor, si modo rem publicam respicere volet. Utor in hac re adiutoribus interpretibusque fratre meo et Laterense et Furnio nostro. Non me impediunt privatae offensiones, quo minus pro rei publicae salute etiam cum inimicissimo consentiam. Quod si nihil proficere, nihilo minus maximo sum animo et maiore fortasse cum mea gloria vobis satis faciam. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

DCCCXLIX. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 13 a).

CAMP AT PARMA; APRIL 30; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. BRUTUS COS. DESIG. M. CICERONI.

Parmenses miserrimos . . .

istinc] i.e. from Rome.

3. *mehercules*] Plancus, like Caelius, always uses this form; while Cicero prefers the shorter form, *mehercule* (Orat. 157).

nec animo . . . cedam] 'and I shall not yield to anyone either in courage or good will or endurance on your behalf.' The usual construction would be *cuiquam* with the abl. *benevolentia*, *potentia*: cp. N. D. ii. 153, *nulla alia re nisi immortalitate . . . cedens caelestibus*.

omniaque ei obsequia polliceor] 'and I promise to defer to him in everything.'

Laterense] He was the accuser of Cn. Plancius when the latter was defended by Cicero, see Holden's Introd. to the Pro Plancio xviii.-xx. He appears to have been a man always ready to act up to his principles: cp. Att. ii. 18, 2 (45), *Laterensis existimatur laute fecisse quod tribunatum pl. petere destitit ne iuraret*: 861, 3, *Laterensis, vir sanctissimus*.

inimicissimo] i.e. Lepidus: cp. 860, 1:

870, 2: 896, 1.

nihilo minus . . . faciam] 'nevertheless I am fully resolute, and shall do all you wish with perhaps greater glory to myself,' i.e. by gaining a victory over both Antony and Lepidus.

mutuo diligas] 'love me as I love you.'

Parmenses miserrimos] These two words, found in the Index to M, are all that is preserved of this letter. We can gather from them that Brutus wrote it from the camp at Parma, one day's journey from Regium Lepidi, on the 30th (see introductory note to 847). It probably contained an account of the harsh way in which Antony had treated the inhabitants of Parma a week or so previously: cp. Phil. xiv. 9, *Refugit animus eaque dicere reformidat, quas L. Antonius in Parmensium liberis et coniugibus effecerit . . . Qua enim in urbe tam immanis Hannibal capta quam in Parma surrepta Antonius*. Also 890, 4, *Parmam direptam*.

DCCCL. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 11).

DYRRHACHIUM; MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus Ciceroni commendat Veterem Antistium a quo magnam pecuniam acceperat.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Veteris Antistii talis animus est in rem publicam, ut non dubitem, quin et in Caesare et in Antonio se praestaturus fuerit acerrimum propugnatorem communis libertatis, si occasione potuisset occurrere; nam, qui in Achaia congressus cum P. Dolabella milites atque equites habente quodvis adire periculum ex insidiis

This letter appears to have been written after April 1, the date of 837; for in that letter, § 6, Brutus seems to make mention for the first time of the money which he received from Antistius. Again, it must have been written before May 15, the date of 866: for by that time Brutus had heard of the deaths of the consuls, whereas in the present letter (§ 2) he assumes that they are still alive.

1. *Veteris Antistii*] cp. 837, 5. Concerning this money which was made over by Antistius to Brutus, there is a chronological difficulty (cp. Introductory note to 864). Plutarch (Brut. 25) places the transaction in the autumn of 710 (44), while obviously from these letters we should gather that it occurred about February or March, 711 (43). The latter date is probably the right one. In the first official letter from Brutus, which was received in Rome about February, there is no mention of Antistius, though there is mention of a transfer of money from Appuleius (Phil. x. 24): Antony, also, in the letter he wrote to Hirtius and Octavian, about the middle of March, complains only of the transfer of money by Appuleius (Phil. xiii. 32). It is probable, then, that Antistius had not handed over his money at the time when Brutus sent his first official letter; and that Plutarch, in mentioning the transfer of money by Appuleius (cp. c. 24, where his name is not given, but it is quite certain that *ἀνδρα χαρίερα καὶ γράμμων*

refers to him) mentioned the similar transfer by Antistius without taking into consideration that some months elapsed between the two transactions. Plutarch never meant his Lives to be perfectly accurate in all chronological details: cp. the introduction to his Life of Alexander.

Caesare] This must be the dictator: for at this time there was no hint or idea that Octavian was or would be disloyal. Brutus means that, if Antistius had been in Rome, he would have shown himself an active opponent of the monarchy. For *in* = 'in the case of' cp. 842, 5.

praestaturus] For this form cp. 908, 1. For the construction *praestare se propugnatorem* cp. 848, 1 (Plancus); Cic. Flacc. 101.

congressus cum] We have added *cum* with Wes. It would be impossible to explain the abl. as an abl. absolute: and the alteration to the dative. *Dolabellae . . . habenti* would be as violent a change as the insertion of *cum*, besides being rather a poetical than a prose construction. Madvig objects to *congressus* on the ground that it would imply that Antistius sought the meeting with Dolabella: and accordingly suggests *comprehensus*, further supposing that *ab* fell out before P. But *congrēdi* does not necessarily imply voluntary meeting, it need not mean anything more than 'falling in with': cp. Mil. 53, *locus ad insidias ille ubi congressi sunt utri fuerit aptior*.

paratissimi ad omnia latronis maluerit quam videri aut coactus esse pecuniam dare aut libenter dedisse homini nequissimo atque improbissimo, is nobis ultro et pollicitus est et dedit HS. [XX] ex sua pecunia et, quod multo carius est, se ipsum obtulit et coniunxit. 2. Huic persuadere cupimus, ut imperator in castris remaneret remque publicam defenderet: *sed* statuit sibi eundum domum, quoniam exercitum dimisisset; statim vero rediturum ad nos confirmavit legatione suscepta, nisi praetorum comitia habituri essent consules—nam illi ita sentienti de re publica magno opere auctor fui, ne differret tempus petitionis suae—: cuius factum omnibus gratum esse debet, qui modo iudicant hunc exercitum esse debere rei publicae, tibi tanto gratius, quanto maiore et animo gloriaque libertatem nostram defendis et dignitate, si contigerit nostris consiliis exitus, quem optamus, perfuncturus es. Ego etiam, mi Cicero, proprie familiariterque te rogo, ut Veterem ames velisque esse quam amplissimum, qui etsi nulla re deterreretur a proposito potest, tamen exortari tuis laudibus indulgentiaeque poterit, quo magis amplexetur ac tueatur iudicium suum: id mihi gratissimum erit.

HS. [XX] The mss give *sestertia xx*: but that would mean only 20,000 sesterces: whereas the sum must have been much larger. It was probably 2,000,000 (*vicies*), a sum which will almost agree with that mentioned by Plut. Brut. 25, *πεντηκοντα μυριάδες* (sc. *δραχμῶν*), *sestertia* being a mistake for HS. Schmidt (Jahrb., 1889, p. 182) supposes XX is a mistake for MM, and that *sestertia* is right.

ex sua pecunia] i.e. public money in the hand of Antistius. Brutus and Cassius used to declare that they were the state, and accordingly had right to all state moneys: cp. § 2, and Vell. ii. 62, 8.

2. *sed statuit sibi eundum domum*] There must be some connecting word, so we have inserted *sed* (*set*) which might readily have fallen out before *statuit*. We have added *domum* which can easily have been lost after *eundum*: cp. Adn. Crit. For this use of *domum* = 'to Rome' cp. note to Att. vi. 5, 1 (265) and Lehmann quoted there. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 183) proposes to erase *statuit id*

sibi, and to read *negavit id fieri posse*: but this is a re-writing, not an emendation, of the passage.

legatione] probably a *legatio libera* as Manutius says.

esse debere] We add *debere* with the Dresdenensis. That the word was in the archetype is probable, as *debet* was in M¹: but, as it afforded no sense, it was erased by Coluccio: cp. Schmidt l. c.

perfuncturus] 'enjoy': cp. Fam. iv. 5, 5 (555), *omnibus bonis prope perfunctum esse*. Ter. Hec. iv. 2, 18, *Dum actatis tempus tulit perfuncta satia sum* (sc. *studiis istis*).

proprie familiariterque] 'as a special favour and as a friend.'

deterreretur] So most mss; but the Wolfenbüttel ms has *detineretur* which is possible: cp. Sall. Cat. 4, 2, *a quo incepto me ambitio mala detinuerat*.

tamen . . . poterit] 'yet you will be able to rouse him by your praises and kindly treatment to cherish and maintain his resolution more earnestly.'

DCCCLI. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 25, §§ 6-7).

ROME; MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero consulibus amissis dolet, sed se, etai defetigatus sit, omnia officia esse praestaturum promittit.

CICERO CORNIFICIO S.

6. P. Lucceium mihi meum commendas: quem, quibuscumque rebus potero, diligenter tuebor. Hirtium quidem et Pansam, collegas nostros, homines in consulatu rei publicae salutares, alieno sane tempore amisimus, re publica Antoniano quidem latrocinio liberata, sed nondum omnino explicata: quam nos, si licebit, more nostro tuebimur, quamquam admodum sumus iam defetigati; sed nulla lassitudo impedire officium et fidem debet. 7. Verum haec haec. Ab aliis te de me quam a me ipso malo cognoscere; de te audiebamur ea, quae maxime vellemus. De Cn. Minucio, quem tu quibusdam litteris ad caelum laudibus extulisti, rumores duriores erant: id quale sit omninoque, quid istis agatur, facias me velim certiores.

These sections, 6-7, were written obviously at a time long after Fam. xii. 25, §§ 1-5 (825), where see note. This letter has all the appearance of having been written soon after the news of the deaths of the two consuls reached Rome (i. e. April 26, at earliest), probably in the beginning of May. Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 458) places it as late as May 25; but we do not feel quite sure on what grounds. Perhaps because Cicero confesses to a feeling of weariness (§ 6), as he does in 879, 2, which was written about May 27.

6. P. Lucceium] He is only mentioned here and in 899, 5, *De P. Lucceio* . . . *est enim nobis necessarius*.

collegas] sc. in the augurate.

salutares] For this word applied to persons, cp. Mil. 20 (*civis*).

re publica . . . *explicata*] 'as the state, though freed from the robber raids of Antony, is not entirely extricated from its

difficulties.'

more . . . *nostro*] 'on the same lines as before.'

quamquam . . . *defetigati*] 'although I am by this time sore wearied: but no fatigue should stand in the way of duty to which one is pledged': cp. Hamlet, v. 2, 221, 'Thou wouldst not think how ill all's here about my heart: but it is no matter.' This is one of the very few (cp. 879, 2, *sed mehercules in re p. conservanda iam defetigatus non multo plus patriae faveo quam tuae gloriae*) passages in the letters of this trying period, in which Cicero, even for a moment, confesses to the severe strain which was laid upon him. But he recovers himself at once, and in a noble sentence expresses himself ready, as ever, to spend and be spent at the call of duty.

7. Cn. Minucio] We do not hear of him elsewhere. He probably held some official position in Africa.

DCCCLII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 5).

ROME; MAY 5; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero scribit a senatu permissum esse arbitrio Bruti Dolabellam persequi suumque consilium interponit. Filium suum se velle in collegium pontificum minorum absentem cooptari idque per leges Domitiam et Iuliam fieri posse demonstrat: qua de re quid Bruto videatur sciscitatur.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. A. d. v. K. Maias, cum de iis, qui hostes iudicati sunt, bello persequendis sententiae dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio et ut Cassius persequeretur Dolabellam; cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrare utile exque re publica esse, persequerere bello Dolabellam, si minus id commodo rei publicae facere posses sive non existimares ex re publica esse, ut in iisdem locis exercitum contineres: nihil honorificentius potuit facere senatus, quam ut tuum esset iudicium, quid maxime conducere rei publicae tibi videretur. Equidem sic sentio, si manum habet, si castra, si ubi consistat uspiam Dolabella, ad fidem et ad dignitatem tuam pertinere eum persequi. 2. De Cassii nostri copiis

1. *hostes iudicati*] cp. note to 846, 4. *Ventidio*] The faithful lieutenant of Antony who made such a brilliant march across the mountains, joining him at Vada: cp. Introduction.

sive] This is certainly a peculiar usage after *si* preceding; but it is sufficiently accounted for by Ruete (p. 109), who points out that Cicero is quoting a decree of the Senate in which such an archaism would be allowable, cp. Phil. v. 53 *alter ambove*: Fam. viii. 8, 6 (223) *ad populum plebemve*; Liv. xxii. 10, 6 *si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber*. It is common in the comic dramatists, and is found even in Caes. B. G. iv. 17, 10 *si arborum trunci sive navcs*. Meyer (p. 50) argues rightly that this decree cannot have been passed till after the deaths of the consuls, because the conduct of the war against Dolabella had been assigned to them at the end of February (823, 7; 883, 4; Dio. Cass. xlvii. 29, 5): the news of the deaths of the consuls had spread by April 26th.

Thus too Vell. ii. 73 and Dio Cass. xlvii. 40, 3 are correct in saying that the decrees formally giving powers to Brutus and Cassius were passed *after* the Battle of Mutina.

ut tuum esset iudicium] cp. 843, 4. *ubi consistat*] 'a footing anywhere.'

2. *De Cassii*] There is no doubt that Cicero had heard something about the actions of Cassius from the letter of Lentulus read April 9th (839, 3); but that was a long time before, and Cicero who was naturally craving for news means that he has not heard anything recently, certainly nothing since he wrote to Brutus. A letter would take over fifty days to reach Rome from Syria, even if there was no delay; and we may well suppose that there were considerable delays in such a long journey. Accordingly we need not be surprised that Cassius's letter of March 7th (822) had not yet arrived.

DCCCLII. (BRUT. I. 5).

sciebamus—neque enim ab ipso ullae litterae neque nuntia-
r quidquam, quod pro certo haberemus—; quanto opere autem
rsit opprimi Dolabellam, profecto intellegis, cum ut sceleris
as persolvat, tum ne sit, quo se latronum duces ex Mutinensi
conferant. Atque hoc mihi iam ante placuisse potes ex
rioribus meis litteris recordari: quamquam tum et fugae
us erat in tuis castris et subsidium salutis in tuo exercitu; quo
is nunc liberati, ut spero, periculis in Dolabella opprimenda
pati esse debemus. Sed hoc cogitabis diligentius, statues
enter: facies nos, quid constitueris et quid agas, si tibi vide-
r, certiores. 3. Ciceronem nostrum in vestrum collegium
tari volo. Existimo omnino absentium rationem sacerdotum
tiis posse haberi; nam etiam factum est antea: Gaius enim
ius, cum *in* Cappadocia esset, lege Domitia factus est augur,
quo minus id postea liceret, ulla lex sanxit; est etiam in lege
, quae lex est de sacerdotiis proxima, his verbis, QVI PETET
SVE RATIO HABEBITVR, aperte indicatum posse rationem haberi
petentis. Hac de re scripsi ad eum, ut tuo iudicio uteretur,
in rebus omnibus, tibi autem statuendum est de Domitio, de

Catone nostro; sed, quamvis licet absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt praesentibus faciliora, quod si statueris in Asiam tibi eundum, nulla erit ad comitia nostros arcessendi facultas.

4. Omnino Pansa vivo celeriora omnia putabamus; statim enim collegam sibi subrogavisset, deinde ante praetoria sacerdotum comitia fuissent: nunc per auspicia longam moram video; dum enim unus erit patricius magistratus, auspicia ad patres redire non possunt: magna sane perturbatio. Tu, tota de re quid sentias, velim me facias certiorum. III. Nonas Maias.

DCCCLIII. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 14).

ROME; MAY 5; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Laudat M. Cicero L. Plancum in Bruto iuvando promptissimum, hortaturque, ut belli reliquias exstinguat.

CICERO PLANCO S.

1. O gratam famam biduo ante victoriam de subsidio tuo, de studio, de celeritate, de copiis! Atqui etiam hostibus fuis spes

quod si . . . facultas] This certainly does sound as if Cicero wanted Brutus to regulate the order of his campaign so as to suit young Cicero's candidature; but it is opposed to the decree in § 1, and the advice in § 2. Doubtless all Cicero means is that, if Brutus thinks the young men ought to accompany him into Asia, they must give up all hopes of being present at the election, and that it cannot be helped.

4. *nunc per auspicia*] Cicero is pointing out the delay that must be caused in the appointment of an interrex. In De Leg. iii. 9 he quotes a law *ut quando consulari potestate magistratus magisterque populi (i.e. dictator) nec erunt reliqui magistratus ne sunt, auspicia patrum sunt, omnesque ex se produnt qui comitiis consules rite creare possit*. That is, that on the one hand no one but a consul or a dictator can hold the consular comitia, cp. Att. ix. 3, 3 (364), and on the other that the *auspicia* must become vested in the whole body of patricians before an interrex can be appointed for electing consuls. But again, as long as the *auspicia*, whether *maiora* or *minora* (Gell. xiii. 15, 4), were held by any patrician magistrate, they did

not lapse to the patricians; and thus, in order to obtain this essential condition of the appointment of an interrex, it was necessary to get all the patrician magistrates to resign (cp. Dionys. Hal. viii. 90, ἀποδίδονται μεσοβασίλει, αἱ δὲ ἅλλαι κατελύθησαν ἀρχαί). On the present occasion, owing to the absence of several of the patrician magistrates (Dio. Cass. xlv. 45, 3), the obtaining such consent would entail great delay. The difficulty was solved by appointing two *privati* with consular power to hold the consular elections. See an excellent article on *Interrex* in Dict. Antiq. i². 1021, by Mr. A. H. Greenidge of Hertford College, Oxford.

1. *O gratam . . . copias*] 'What a delightful report, heard two days before news of the victory at Mutina had arrived, of the support you can bring, your energy, rapidity, and forces.' Cicero probably received a letter from Plancus on April 24, but did not answer it until definite news had arrived of the posture of affairs in North Italy.

Atqui] So Manutius and Wessenberg for *Atque*.

DCCCLIV. (FAM. XI. 10).

is est in te. Fugisse enim ex proelio Mutinensi dicuntur
ssimi latronum duces. Est autem non minus gratum extrema
re quam prima depellere. 2. Equidem expectabam iam tuas
ras idque cum multis, sperabamque etiam Lepidum rei publi-
temporibus admonitum tecum et cum re publica esse facturum.
llam igitur curam incumbe, mi Plance, ut ne quae scintilla
errimi belli relinquatur. Quod si erit factum, et rem publi-
divino beneficio adfeceris et ipse aeternam gloriam consequere.
II. Non. Mai.

DCCCLIV. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 10).

DEROTONA ; MAY 5 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus queritur de quorundam malevolentia et rei publicae periculum ostendit.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

I. Non mihi rem publicam plus debere arbitror quam me tibi :
iorem me esse in te posse, quam isti perversi sint in me explo-

tuum iudicium, quam ex altera parte omnium istorum. Tu enim a certo sensu et vero iudicas de nobis: quod isti ne faciant summa malevolentia et livore impediuntur. Interpellent me quo minus honoratus sim, dum ne interpellent quo minus res publica a me commode administrari possit; quae quanto sit in periculo quam potero brevissime exponam. 2. Primum omnium quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum adferat obitus consulum quantamque cupiditatem hominibus honoris inicit vacuitas non te fugit. Satis me multa scripsisse, quae litteris commendari possint, arbitror: scio enim cui scribam. 3. Revertor nunc ad Antonium, qui ex fuga cum parvulam manum peditum haberet inermium, ergastula solvendo omneque genus hominum abripiendo satis

deep gratitude), owing to the exigency of the moment, you know full well that I prefer your *judgment* to that of all those you wot of on the other side.' D. Brutus seems to have been a man who was not given to expressing his emotions very emphatically. Thus he thinks that a very fervent expression of gratitude might be considered by Cicero to be assumed for the moment; but goes on to say, that even if Cicero *does* think so, he prefers Cicero's well-considered and sincere judgment to that of his other critics, whose opinions were warped by jealousy and malevolence. With *malle* understand *exploratum habes* from the preceding sentence.

a certo sensu] 'with definiteness and sincerity.' This usage of *a* is so peculiar that Orelli suggests *aperto* for *a certo*. We often find *iudicare* with *ex*, or with the simple ablative, but never with *a*. Gebhard (p. 10) quotes Balbus in Att. ix. 7n, 3 354, *sed illud certe scio me ab singulari amore ac benevolentia . . . tibi scribere*, and supposes that this is an extension of the use of *a* found with *facere*, *stare*, *esse*, signifying 'to be on the side of.'

livore] 'jealousy.' Before the Augustan age this word is elsewhere always used in its literal sense of the bluish colour of a bruise, except perhaps Tusc. iv. 28, *malevoli et lividi*, where, however, Wesenberg and Baiter-Kayser eject *et lividi*: cp. Schmalz, Antib. ii. 27.

Interpellent] 'impede.' For the construction similar to that after verbs of hindering cp. Matius ap. Fam. xi. 28, 7 (786), *quod Caesar nunquam interpellavit quin . . . iis uteretur*.

2. *hominibus honoris inicit vacuitas*] For the corrupt readings of the MSS see Adn. Crit. Cicero uses *vacuitas* with the genit. in the sense of 'freedom from.' Tusc. v. 42, *securitatem nunc appello vacuitatem aegritudinis*. In Vitruv. ii. 7, 2, *ignis interveniorum vacuitates* ('the empty pores') *occupans*, it is used in the concrete. Here the sense is 'the fact that the consulship is vacant.'

Satis me multa . . . arbitror] 'I think that I have written as much as can be committed to a letter.' Probably *quae . . . possint* is restrictive, 'at least as much as can be committed to a letter.' Cicero would have said *quae modo* or *quae quidem*: cp. Roby, § 1692. The reference in *hominibus* is doubtless to Octavian. Gebhard (p. 13) says Cicero would have used *mandare*, not *commendare*.

3. *ergastula solvendo*] For *ergastula* used of the slaves confined in the barracks cp. Juv. xiv. 24, *quem mira afficiunt inscripta ergastula*, where Mayor quotes numerous parallels, comparing *domus* used for a 'household,' *curia*, *theatrum*, 'gallery,' 'pit,' 'boxes': cp. 869, 2; Liv. Ep. 56; Caes. B. C. iii. 22, 2. On this last passage Dinter argues that *ergastula* is here used for the prisons and not by metonymy for the slaves; because in the passages from this letter it is added that Antony hurried along with him *omne genus hominum*. But these probably refer to the free labourers and those rustic slaves who were *not* confined in the *ergastula*. Note the gerundial construction, where one would expect the abl. absolute.

DCCCLIV. (FAM. XI. 10).

um numerum videtur effecisse. Hoc accessit manus Ven-
quae trans Appenninum itinere facto difficillimo ad Vada
nit atque ibi se cum Antonio coniunxit. Est numerus
anorum et armatorum satis frequens cum Ventidio. 4. Con-
Antonii haec sint necesse est: aut ad Lepidum ut se conferat,
ipitur, aut Appennino Alpibusque se teneat et decursioni-
er equites, quos habet multos, vastet ea loca, in quae incur-
aut rursus se in Etruriam referat, quod ea pars Italia sine
tu est. Quod si me Caesar audisset atque Appenninum
sset, in tantas angustias Antonium compulissem, ut inopia
quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Caesari imperari
nec Caesar exercitui suo: quod utrumque pessimum est.
haec talia sint, quo minus, quod ad me pertinebit, homines
pellent, ut supra scripsi, non impedio: haec quem ad modum
ari possint aut, a te cum explicabuntur, ne impedian-
ur. 5. Alere iam milites non possum. Cum ad rem publicam
ndam accessi, HS mihi fuit pecuniae [CCCC] amplius.
um abest ut meae rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut
s iam meos amicos aere alieno obstrinxerim. Septem numerum

nunc legiones alo : qua difficultate tu arbitrare. Non si Varronis thensauros haberem, subsistere sumptui possem. Cum primum de Antonio exploratum habuero, faciam te certiore. Tu me amabis ita, si hoc idem me in te facere senseris. III. Non. Maias, ex castris, Dertona.

DCCCLV. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 11).

CONFINES OF THE STATIELLENSES; MAY 6; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus iter Antonii ad Lepidum, dubiamque Planci fidem et suum in rem publicam studium significat.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Eodem exemplo a te mihi litterae redditae sunt, quo pueri mei attulerunt. Tantum me tibi debere existimo, quantum persolvere difficile est. Scripsi tibi quae hic gererentur. In itinere est Antonius : ad Lepidum proficiscitur : ne de Plano quidem spem adhuc abiecit, ut ex libellis eius animadverti, qui in me inciderunt, in quibus quos ad Asinium, quos ad Lepidum, quos ad Plancum mitteret scribebat. Ego tamen non habui ambiguum et

numerus] Probably to be taken in the sense of 'a force': cp. § 3. Some editors follow Orelli, and alter to *numero*: cp. Caes. Bell. Gall. i. 49, 3, *Eo circiter hominum numero aedecim milia . . . misit*, where some mss read *numerus*. Boot (Obs. Crit. 22) suggests *nimirum* . . . *legiones*.

Varronis thensauros] As there is no record that the wealth of Varro was very great, not to say so great as to be proverbial, Orelli has supposed that there may be a reference to one of Varro's Menippean satires which has been lost. In it Varro may have depicted some character possessed of untold wealth.

subsistere] 'to hold out against': cp. Liv. xxvii. 7, 3, *vix Hannibali atque eius armis subsistentem*.

ita, si] 'only if.' Watson compares Att. vii. 7, 5 (298).

amabis] polite imperative.

Dertona] About 35 miles due north of Genoa; now Tortona.

1. *Eodem exemplo . . . attulerunt*] 'duplicates of your letters which my servants brought to me are to hand.' In these troublous times, when there was such danger of letters being intercepted, it was not unusual to send duplicates: cp. 856, 1, *tabellariosque complures Romam misi*: 899 fin.

quae hic gererentur] We should expect *gerebantur*. The subjunctive is perhaps to be explained as a generic subjunctive, or else as an inaccuracy on the part of Brutus: cp. Cassius 822, 1.

libellis] 'memorandum-books': cp. Phil. i. 16, in *commentariolis et chirographis et libellis*.

in me inciderunt] a somewhat careless expression of ordinary language for *mihi in manus inciderunt*.

non habui ambiguum] 'I did not hesitate,' literally, 'had not any wavering.' We do not know an exact parallel; *habere dubium* in Plaut. Capt. iv. 2, 112, is something like it.

DCCCLVI. (FAM. XII. 12).

ad Plancum misi, et biduo ab Allobrogibus et totius Galliae
s exspecto, quos confirmatos domum remittam. 2. Tu, quae
pus erunt administrari, prospicies, ut ex tua voluntate rei que
ae commodo fiant. Malevolentiae hominum in me, si poteris,
res: si non potueris, hoc consolabere, quod me de statu meo
contumeliis deterrere possunt. Pridie Nonas Maias, ex
3, ex finibus Statiellensium.

CCCLVI. C. CASSIUS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 12).

AMP IN SYRIA; MAY 7; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cassius laudat M. Ciceronis benevolentiam ei que suas suorumque res et rationes
adat; se in Ciliciam contra Dolabellam iam profecturam esse.

C. CASSIUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI SUO.

S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. Legi tuas litteras, in quibus mirificum
erga me amorem recognovi. Videbaris enim non solum favere
—id quod et nostra et rei publicae causa semper fecisti—, sed

quod te sollicitum esse et de salute nostra et de rerum eventu putabam, simul ac legiones accepi, quas A. Allienus eduxerat ex Aegypto, scripsi ad te tabellariosque complures Romam misi. Scripsi etiam ad senatum litteras, quas reddi vetui prius quam tibi recitatae essent, si forte mei obtemperare mihi voluerint. Quod si litterae perlatae non sunt, non dubito quin Dolabella, qui nefarie Trebonio occiso Asiam occupavit, tabellarios meos deprehenderit litterasque interceperit. 2. Exercitus omnes, qui in Syria fuerunt, teneo. Habui pollulum morae, dum promissa militibus persolvo. Nunc iam sum expeditus. A te peto, ut dignitatem meam commendatam tibi habeas, si me intellegis nullum neque periculum neque laborem patriae denegasse, si contra importunissimos latrones arma cepi te hortante et auctore, si non solum exercitus ad rem publicam libertatemque defendendam comparavi, sed etiam crudelissimis tyrannis eripui: quos si occupasset Dolabella, non solum adventu, sed etiam opinione et expectatione exercitus sui Antonium confirmasset. 3. Quas ob res milites tuere si eos mirifice de re publica meritos esse animadvertis, et effice, ne quem paenitent rem publicam quam spem praedae et rapinarum sequi maluisse. Item Murci et Crispi imperatorum dignitatem, quantum est in te, tuere. Nam Bassus misere noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites invito eo legatos ad me misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata. Haec a te peto non solum rei publicae, quae tibi semper fuit

legiones] These appear to have been legions left by Caesar to guard Cleopatra; or the remnants of the army of Crassus and Pompey (App. iii. 78, iv. 59).

A. Allienus] cp. 822, 1.

complures] cp. note to 855, 1. One copy at least reached Cicero, viz. 822.

ad senatum] This letter is not extant.

mei] The relatives of Cassius do not appear to have been on very friendly terms with Cicero. We have seen that his stepmother, Servilia, objected to Cicero's proceedings on his behalf (823, 1).

2. *pollulum*] This is a less elegant form for *paullulum*. Bücheler (Rh. Mus. xi. 511) quotes for this form Cato R. R. x. 2; xxi. 3; Varro L. L. v. 35, 167.

dignitatem] Cassius wished to be formally appointed Governor of Syria.

tyrannis] Antony and Dolabella.

opinionem] 'by the mere surmise': *confirmasset* 'strengthened.'

3. *Murci et Crispi*] cp. note to 822, 1; also Phil. xi. 30.

Nam] '(I say nothing about Bassus), for he in pitiful fashion refused to hand over his legion to me': App. iii. 78 seems to say that he had two legions. For Bassus, cp. note to Fam. xii. 18, 1 (670).

misere] This adverb is often used in the comedians of the pain of too strong emotion (*misere amare*, *misere deperire*), but it is strange to find it applied to such a negative idea as unwillingness. Perhaps *miser* of H. Pal. is right.

Apameam] sixty miles S.E. of Antioch, near the Orontes. There was another Apamea in Phrygia: cp. Att. v. 16, 2 (208).

DCCCLVII. (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 1-3).

ma, sed etiam amicitiae nostrae nomine, quam confido apud
rimum posse. 4. Crede mihi hunc exercitum, quem habeo,
s atque optimi cuiusque esse maximeque tuum: de cuius
ate adsidue audiendo mirifice te diligit carumque habet.
intellexerit commoda sua curae tibi esse, debere etiam se tibi
putabit.

Litteris scriptis audiivi Dolabellam in Ciliciam venisse cum
oppiis. Proficiscar in Ciliciam. Quid egerim celeriter ut scias
operam. Ac velim, ut meremur de re publica, sic felices

Fac valeas meque ames. Non. Maiis, ex castris.

DCCCLVII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 1-3).

ACHIUM; MAY 7 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

us reprehensionem nimiae in C. Antonium clementiae diluit et monet ne
honores tribuat.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adiumento. 2. Quod scribis mihi trium Antoniorum unam atque eandem causam esse, quid ego sentiam, mei iudicii esse, statuo nihil nisi hoc, senatus aut populi Romani iudicium esse de iis civibus, qui pugnantes non interierint. "At hoc ipsum," inquit "inique facis, qui hostilis animi in rem publicam homines cives appelles." Immo iustissime; quod enim nondum senatus censuit nec populus Romanus iussit, id arroganter non praeiudico neque revoco ad arbitrium meum: illud quidem non muto, quod ei, quem me occidere res non coëgit, neque crudeliter quidquam eripui neque dissolute quidquam remisi habuique in mea potestate, quoad bellum fuit. Multo equidem honestius iudico magisque quod concedere possit res publica miserorum fortunam non insectari quam infinite tribuere potentibus, quae cupiditatem et arrogantiam incendere possint. 3. Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime atque fortissime mihi-que merito et meo nomine et rei publicae carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuae statimque, ut quisque aliquid recte fecerit, omnia

an actual sally made from Mutina by D. Brutus during the battle can hardly be doubted; though Meyer (p. 46) insists that, owing to the manner in which it is treated in 874, 2, it must refer to the march forth from the town to pursue the enemy after the victory had been won and Antony put to flight. But Cicero, undoubtedly, refers to a sally made during the battle in 886, 1, *tantam spem attulerat exploratae victoriae tua praeclara Mutina eruptio, fuga Antonii conciso exercitu*; and Cicero often speaks of D. Brutus as having exhibited the greatest valour, 912, 1: 871, 1. The objection to this view is that Vell. ii. 62, 4, App. iii. 71, and Dio Cass. xlv. 39 say nothing about this sally, and the latter explicitly says c. 40, *τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συμπολιορκηθεῖσιν οἱ* (i.e. *Δεκίμῳ*) *καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ τᾶλλα δσα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος πρότερον προσηγγελο, καὶ περ μὴ δὲν ἐς τὴν νίκην συμβαλομένοις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτὴν ἰδοῦσι, δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν*. Cobet supposes that it was Aquila who made the sally (Aquila was serving under D. Brutus, and was killed in the battle); but that, as D. Brutus was the chief commander, and as the sally was made under his auspices, the credit of it was given to him. This is ingenious: but it is far simpler, with Hermann and Ruete, to

assign the statement that Decimus had looked on idly at the battle, to the obvious Caesarian partisanship which is exhibited throughout the whole of Dio Cass. xlv. 40.

2. *Quod . . . interierint*] Plainly in these words Brutus is answering 844, 3, and had not before him 846, 4, in which there is a definite mention of the vote of the senate declaring Antony and his followers enemies of the state. See Schelle, p. 16.

revoco ad arbitrium meum] 'claim it for my own decision.'

neque crudeliter . . . remisi] 'I have not cruelly wrested anything from him or weakly yielded anything': cp. 842, 5.

habuique in mea potestate] 'and I have kept in my power as long as the war lasted.' This was Cicero's advice (840, 3). From the words used, *in potestate*, not *in custodia*, we may probably infer that C. Antonius was only kept under surveillance, not in prison.

concedere possit res publica] So M: but in the margin *conducere possit rei p.* The latter is more likely to have arisen from a corruption of the former than vice versa.

miserorum fortunam non insectari] 'to refrain from assailing the fortunes of the fallen.'

DCCCLVIII. (FAM. X. 13).

ac permittere, quasi non liceat traduci ad mala consilia eorum largitionibus animum. Quae tua est humanitas, aequo non te moneri patieris, praesertim de communi salute: facies enim, quod tibi visum fuerit; etiam ego, cum me docueris * *

DCCCLVIII. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 13).

ME; MAY 10, OR A LITTLE LATER; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET.
CIC. 63.

. Cicero L. Plancum de senatus consulto ex sententia sua facto certiores facit
tatur, ut bellum Antonianum conficiat.

CICERO PLANCO.

1. Ut primum mihi potestas data est augendae dignitatis tuae,
praetermissi in te ornando quod positum esset aut in praemio
tis aut in honore verborum. Id ex ipso senatus consulto
ris cognoscere: ita enim est perscriptum ut a me de scripto

tu nihil postulares, quantum tibi a re publica deberetur. Tu contexes extrema cum primis. Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit, is bellum confecerit. Itaque Homerus non Aiacem nec Achillem, sed Ulixem appellavit *πολιπόρθιον*.

DCCCLIX. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 1-4).

POLLENTIA; ABOUT MAY 12; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus excusat tarditatem in persequendo M. Antonio et quo res statu sit exponit.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Iam non ago tibi gratias: cui enim re vix referre possum, huic verbis non patitur res satis fieri. Attendere te volo, quae in manibus sunt. Qua enim prudentia es, nihil te fugiet, si meas litteras diligenter legeris. Sequi confestim Antonium his de

Tu contexes extrema cum primis] 'You must fit the end to the beginning,' a metaphor from weaving. The fut. is used as a mild imperative.

πολιπόρθιον] For this form cp. Hom. Od. ix. 504, 530. On the Homeric use of the epithet, cp. Strabo i. 17, *οἶτος* (sc. δ' Ὀδυσσεύς) δ' *πολιπόρθος* ἀεὶ λεγόμενος. This opinion came from Aristarchus, and his Homer was the one which all the later writers of the Roman period followed. But in Homer, as we have it, though *πολιπόρθος* is always applied to Ulysses in the Odyssey, it is applied to Achilles in Il. viii. 372, xv. 77, xxi. 550, xxiv. 108. These verses Aristarchus appears to have athetized: cp. Schol. on λν. 77, φησὶν δ' Ἀριστάρχος ὅτι οὐδαμῇ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα *πολιπόρθον* εἴρηκεν ἀλλὰ ποδάρκη καὶ ποδάκη: and Eustath. 1005, 61, on xxi. 550, ἡ διπλή, ὅτι πλεονάζει ἐπ' Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ *πολιπόρθον* διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν, νῦν δ' ἀπαξ ἐπ' Ἀχιλλεῖ. See also Wolf Proleg., p. 258 (ed. Calvary).

In the mss 859 and 900 appear as one letter (Fam. xi. 13); yet Fam. xi. 13 plainly consists of portions of two letters, the former written by D. Brutus to Cicero about May 12th, the latter probably by both Brutus and Plancus to the Senate

about June 11, after the union of Brutus and Plancus had been effected. A sheet of the archetype seems to have been lost.

The date of this letter can be fixed from the following considerations:—On the 6th D. Brutus was at Aquae Statiellae (855), and Antony at Vada, where he had united his forces with those of Ventidius on the 3rd. The distance between these places is about 45 Roman miles. Brutus advanced a day's journey to within 30 miles of Vada (probably on the 7th), and there heard about Antony's oration, and the intended attack on Pollentia (§ 3). If we refer to the map we shall find that it is about 67 miles by the road from the point where Brutus halted on the 7th to Pollentia: we say 'by the road,' for it is much less in a straight line across country; the cohorts may possibly have gone across country, but the main army of D. Brutus probably marched south along the Aemilian road (later Julia Augusta) till it could strike into the main road from Pollentia to Vada: see Kiepert's map at the end of C. I. L., vol. v. This march must have occupied 4 days, which would bring Brutus to Pollentia by the 11th. This letter was written a day or so later.

1. *cui enim re*] 'For the nature of the case does not admit that he, whom I can scarcely repay in deeds, could be satisfied with words.'

DCCCLIX. (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 1-4).

is, Cicero, non potui: eram sine equitibus, sine iumentis: quid perisse nesciebam, Aquilam perisse nesciebam: Caesari credebam prius quam convenissem et collocutus essem. Hic hoc modo abiit. 2. Postero die mane a Pansa sum arcessitus coniam. Cum in itinere essem, nuntiatum mihi est eum tutum esse. Recurri ad meas copias: sic enim vere eas bellare possum: sunt extenuatissimae et inopia omnium rerum me acceptae. Biduo me Antonius antecessit: itinera fecit toto maiora fugiens quam ego sequens. Ille enim iit passim, ordinatim. Quaecumque iit, ergastula solvit, homines abripuit: titit nusquam prius, quam ad Vada venit; quem locum volo esse notum: iacet inter Appenninum et Alpes, impeditissimus iter faciendum. 3. Cum abessem ab eo milia passuum triginta e iam Ventidius coniunxisset, contio eius ad me est adlata, qua petere coepit a militibus, ut se trans Alpes sequerentur: cum M. Lepido convenire. Succlamatum est, et frequenter a

uilam . . . nesciebam] These words
t occur in M, but they are found in
l, and many second-class mss. Orelli
the corrupt added them: *taessie sup*

extenuatissimae] 'terribly reduced';
the more classical word would be *attenua-*
tae, cp. Gebhard, p. 44.

passim acceptae] 'in the most miser-

militibus Ventidianis—nam suos valde quam paucos habet—sibi aut in Italia pereundum esse aut vincendum, et orare coeperunt, ut Pollentiam iter facerent. Cum sustinere eos non posset, in posterum diem iter suum contulit. 4. Hac re mihi nuntiata, statim quinque cohortes Pollentiam praemisi meumque iter eo contuli. Hora ante praesidium meum Pollentiam venit quam Trebellius cum equitibus. Sane quam sum gavisus: in hoc enim victoriam puto consistere * *

DCCCLX. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 15).

NEAR CULARO; MAY 13; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus nuntiat M. Ciceroni et quae egerit et quae acturus sit ad opprimendum Antonium.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. His litteris scriptis quae postea accidissent scire te ad rem publicam putavi pertinere. Sedulitas mea, ut spero, et mihi et rei publicae tulit fructum. Namque adsiduis internuntiis cum Lepido egi, ut omissa omni contentione reconciliataque voluntate nostra communi consilio rei publicae succurreret: se, liberos urbemque pluris quam unum perditum abiectumque latronem putaret, obsequioque meo, si ita faceret, ad omnes res abuteretur.

and to a great extent proceeding from the soldiers of Ventidius': cp. Att. i. 19, 5 (26), *huic frequenter interceditur*.

valde quam] The usage of *quam* after adverbs belongs to colloquial style: cp. *sane quam* (§ 4), and Palmer on Plaut. Amphitr. i. 3, 43.

Pollentia] about 45 miles north-west of Vada, now Pollenza.

contulit] 'put off': cp. Att. vi. 1, 24 (262), *quae omnia in mensem Martium sunt collata*.

4. *Trebellius*] He had been tribune of the plebs in 706, 707 (48, 47), when Caelius and Dolabella raised disturbances in the interests of debtors and the extreme democrats: cp. vol. iii., p. lvii. He was a devoted adherent of Antony: cp. Phil. vi. 11.

Sane quam] cp. Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5 (105); Legg. ii. 23; Att. i. 11, 3 (7) and note. *consistere* * *] Here the letter to Cicero breaks off: cp. 900.

CULARO] The modern Grenoble.

1. *His litteris scriptis*] These words show that the letter is a postscript to another letter, viz. 848, though written a good many days later.

Namque] explains *sedulitas*—'I have been very busy, for I have had constant negotiations with Lepidus.'

abuteretur] 'that he should consider himself, his children, and Rome of more value than one crushed and ruined rebel; and that if he did so, he might unreservedly use my services for everything.'

Profeci : itaque per Laterensem internuntium fidem mihi dedit Antonium, si prohibere provincia sua non potuisset, bello perituro : me, ut venirem copiasque coniungerem, rogavit, ut magis, quod et Antonius ab equitatu firmus esse dicebatur Lepidus ne mediocrem quidem equitatum habebat. Nam etiam paucitate eius non multis ante diebus decem, qui optimi fuerant, ad me transierant. Quibus rebus ego cognitis cunctatus sum : in cursu bonorum consiliorum Lepidum adiuvandum vavi. 3. Adventus meus quid profecturus esset vidi, vel quod equitatu meo persequi atque opprimere equitatum eius possem vel ad exercitus Lepidi eam partem, quae corrupta est ab re publica nata, et corrigere et coercere praesentia mei exercitus possem. Iamque in Isara, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, nocte uno die facto, exercitum a. d. iv. Idus Maias traduxi. Cum mihi nuntiatum esse L. Antonium praemisum cum equitibus cohortibus ad Forum Iulii venisse, fratrem cum equitum quatuor milibus, ut occurreret ei, misi a. d. iiii. Idus Maias : ipse

[*Profeci*] It is unusual to find *profeci* used alone without the addition of *proficiscor* (863, 2), yet it is thought that *eius* must have something to refer to. The

maximis itineribus cum quattuor legionibus expeditis et reliquo equitatu subsequar. 4. Si nos mediocri modo fortuna rei publicae adiuverit, et audaciae perditorum et nostrae sollicitudinis hic finem reperiemus. Quod si latro praecognito nostro adventu rursus in Italiam se recipere coeperit, Bruti erit officium occurrere ei : cui scio nec consilium nec animum defuturum. Ego tamen, si id acciderit, fratrem cum equitatu mittam qui sequatur, Italiam a vastatione defendat. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

DCCCLXI. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 21, §§ 1-6).

CAMP ON THE ISARA ; MAY 15 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus perfidiam Lepidi eiusque coniunctionem cum M. Antonio nuntiat, subsidia copiarum postulat.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Puderet me inconstantiae mearum litterarum, si non haec ex aliena levitate penderent. Omnia feci qua re Lepido coniuncto ad rem publicam defendendam minore sollicitudine vestra perditis resisterem. Omnia ei et petenti recepi et ultro pollicitus sum, scripsique tibi biduo ante confidere me bono Lepido esse usurum

cavalry, such as *statim*, or *extemplo*, or *vesperi* : and impossible to believe that he would not have written *miseram*. The latter point is urged by Wesenberg (E. A. 35), whose alteration of the number we have, with hesitation, adopted. If *iii.* lost one of its strokes, *ii.* would readily have been corrupted into *v.* : cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 3 (62) ; Q. Fr. ii. 4, 1 (106) ; 842, 5. *Nake*, quoted by *Watson*, wishes to alter *iv.* above to *vii.* or *viii.*, as the bridge must have been made before the cavalry could have been sent forward ; and as Plancus does not say that his brother left him on the same day as that on which he crossed the Isara, or on the next, it is possible that two days may have elapsed between the two events.

4. *praecognito*] a non-Ciceronian word. *Italiam . . . defendat*] There is no need with Wesenberg to insert *ut* before *Italiam*. 'Asyndeton bimembre' is

common even in Cicero : cp. *Lehmann*, p. 26.

mutuo diligas] cp. 848 fin.

1. *inconstantias mearum litterarum*] 'of the constant changes which my letters exhibit.' Cicero complains of this, 884, 1, *modo enim quas vellemus de Lepido, modo contra nuntiabantur* : cp. 826, 1.

haec] 'these things' which I am doing.

levitate] 'shiftiness.'

Omnia feci qua re] cp. *Caes. B. G. v.* 31, 5, *Omnia excogitantur quare sine periculo maneatur* : Fam. iii. 10, 1 (261), *multa . . . quamobrem*, Q. Fr. ii. 2, 3 (100), *multa . . . quare*, quoted by *Andr. scripsique tibi biduo*] i.e. 860, written on May 13.

bono . . . usurum] cp. *Att. i.* 14, 6 (20), *Bonis utimur tribunis pl.* : x. 8, 10 (392).

DCCOLXI. (FAM. X. 21, §§ 1-6).

uniquo consilio bellum administraturum. Credidi chirographum eius, adfirmationi praesentis Laterensis, qui tum apud me reconciliaremque me Lepido fidemque haberem orabat. Non diutius bene de eo sperare. Illud certe cavi et cavebo, ne credulitate rei publicae summa fallatur. 2. Cum Isaram, uno die ponte effecto, exercitum traduxissem, pro magnitudine rei celeritatem adhibens, quod petierat per litteras ipse, ut venire, praesto mihi fuit stator eius cum litteris, quibus nuntium denuntiabat: se posse per se conficere negotium: non ad Isaram exspectarem. Indicabo temerarium meum contra te: tibi: nihilo minus ire decreram, existimans eum socium me vitare. Putabam posse me nec de laude ieiuni hominis quidquam et subesse tamen propinquis locis, ut, si durius esset, succurrere celeriter possem. 3. Ego non malus hoc suspicabar. At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi litteras nimisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de fide, querensque se destitutum; in quibus aperte denuntiat, ne fallar: suam fidem solutam esse: rei publicae ne desim. Exemplar eius chirographi Titio misi. Ipsa chirographa omnia,

et ea, quibus credidi, et ea, quibus fidem non habendam putavi, Laevo Cispio dabo preferenda, qui omnibus his interfuit rebus. 4. Accessit eo, ut milites eius, cum Lepidus contionaretur, improbi per se, corrupti etiam per eos, qui praesunt, Canidios Rufrenosque et ceteros, quos, cum opus erit, scietis, conclamarint viri boni pacem se velle neque esse cum ullis pugnatuuros, duobus iam consulibus singularibus amissis, tot civibus pro patria occisis, hostibus denique omnibus iudicatis bonisque publicatis: neque hoc aut vindicarat Lepidus aut sanarat. 5. Hoc me venire et duobus exercitibus coniunctis obicere exercitum fidelissimum, auxilia maxima, principes Galliae, provinciam cunctam, summae demetiae et temeritatis esse vidi, mihique, si ita oppressus essem remque publicam mecum prodidissem, mortuo non modo honorem, sed misericordiam quoque defuturam. Itaque rediturus sum nec tanta munera perditis hominibus dari posse sinam. 6. Exercitum

Plancus sent him a copy of the letter in order that even his enemies might be able to see the dishonesty of Lepidus, and the critical position in which he himself was placed.

ea, quibus . . . putavi] Evidently there had been some letters forged, purporting to come from Laterensis, and of a hopeful nature.

Laevo Cispio] cp. 870, 1.

4. *eius*] For the pronoun referring to the subsequent *Lepidus*, cp. Att. v. 10, 1 (198), *et quamquam sine iis per me ipse, tamen acris vestigiis tuis monitus de te cogitabam*.

Canidios Rufrenosque] Probably legates or centurions in the army of Lepidus.

quos . . . scietis] 'whose true character you will learn.' If *cognoscetis* had been used, the sense would have been 'with whom you will become acquainted,' not implying any deep knowledge of their character.

conclamarint viri boni] 'cried aloud, did these patriots' (ironical), or 'like true patriots': cp. *bonus imperator*, Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2 (150).

singularibus . . . omnibus] H omits these two words. If we retain the former, we may compare Fam. ix. 14, 1 (722), *praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebes*. For *viris* omitted with *singularibus*, Mendelssohn compares Pompey ap. Att. vii. 8, 5 (299), *cum haec*

quaestor eius infirmus et inops audeat dicere. After *omnibus* Orrelli wishes to add *bonis*, 'all good patriots'; but it is awkward to have the same word used immediately afterwards in the neuter. Against reading *omnibus* it may be urged that it was only Antony and his followers who had been declared enemies; but now that Antony and Lepidus had practically joined forces, the ringleaders of the disturbance may have easily applied the judgment of the senate to themselves, for they must have known that they would soon be formally declared enemies by the government at Rome.

5. *Hoc*] = *huc*, cp. § 6 (twice), and note to 883, 4; also Neue, iii. 613.

remque . . . prodidissem] 'drawn the state into the same ruin as myself.'

defuturam] So H Pal and Wesenberg. M has *defuturum*. This reading Graevius defends as a peculiarity of the style of Plancus, who was fond of archaisms: cp. 916, 1, *amor enim tuus ad iudicium de me utrum . . . sit adlaturus* (so M H). But as we have good authority here for the simple reading *defuturam*, we may perhaps adopt it. Rhodius (p. 9) seems to think Plancus did not write *defuturam*, lest he should seem to lay undue stress on *misericiordiam*.

6. *Exercitum*] H Pal add *ut*, M omits it. Andresen adds it, saying that it might have been omitted if *dabo operam* had preceded, and not followed, the subjunctive:

DCCCLXII. (FAM. X. 21, § 7).

abeam opportunis, provinciam tuear, etiam si ille exercitus
it, omniaque integra servem, dabo operam, quoad exercitus
mittatis parique felicitate rem publicam hic vindicetis;
pugnare, si occasio tulerit, nec obsideri si necesse fuerit, nec
si casus inciderit, pro vobis paratior fuit quisquam. Qua re
te, mi Cicero, exercitum hoc traiciendum quam primum
et matures prius quam hostes magis corroborentur et nostri
bentur. In quo si celeritas erit adhibita, res publica in
sione victoriae deletis sceleratis permanebit. Fac valeas
diligas.

DCCCLXII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 21, § 7).

ON THE ISARA ; MAY 15 (ABOUT) ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET.
CIC. 63.

rem qui in febrim incidisset excusat Plancus, dignitatem suam Ciceroni
dat.

adsiduam et satis molestam. Cum primum poterit istoc recurrere non dubitabit, ne quo loco rei publicae desit. Meam dignitatem commendatam habeas, rogo. Concupiscere me nihil oportet: habeo te et amantissimum mei et, quod optavi, summae auctoritatis. Tu videris, quantum et quando tuum munus apud me velis esse; tantum te rogo, in Hirtii locum me subdas et ad tuum amorem et ad meam observantiam.

DCCCLXIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 12).

ROME; BETWEEN MAY 14 AND 19; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero queritur de renovato per M. Antonium bello, quod ait homines existimasse a D. Bruto impediti potuisse.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

1. Tres uno die a te accepi epistolas: unam brevem, quam Flacco Volumnio dederas, duas pleniores, quarum alteram tabellarius T. Vibii attulit, alteram ad me misit Lupus. Ex tuis

adsiduam] 'he has got a touch of unintermittent fever,' opposed to *febris tertiana, quartana*, and the like. For the diminutive *febricula*, cp. Att. vi. 9, 1 (282). Diminutives are often used of slight ailments, *nauseola*, Att. xiv. 8, 2 (710); *commotiuncula*, xii. 11 (502).

istoc] 'to Rome.' For the form, cp. Caelius Fam. viii. 4, 1 (206): 8, 10 (223): and Neue ii³, 615: also *hoc = huc*, 861, 5. *non dubitabit*] Plancus appears to have had some difficulty in persuading his brother to return to Rome, 872, 2, *coegi isto proficisci*.

quo loco] He was praetor urbanus (889, 2).

Concupiscere] Andr. says that this sentence is in answer to Cicero's exhortations, 838, 5, *haec omnia, quas habent speciem gloriae, collecta inanissimis splendoris insignibus, contemne: brevia, fucata, caduca existima*.

Tu videris . . . observantiam] 'You can yourself see to the amount of your gift to me and the time of its bestowal. I only ask this of you, that you adopt

me into the place of Hirtius—you to show love to me, and I to show respect to you': cp. 845, 3, *concupisco autem nihil mihi—et temporis et rei te moderatorem facile patior esse*. For this use of the future perfect of *videre*, referring to a postponed action, cp. Q. Fr. ii. 13, 2 (141), and Roby 1485. For Cicero's friendship with Hirtius, cp. De Fato 2; Phil. i. 37.

The letter (855), despatched by Brutus on May 6 from Aquae Statiellae, probably did not reach Rome much before May 14. On the 19th Cicero wrote 871. Between these two dates we may place this letter.

1. *Tres*] viz. 834, 845, 848.

Flacco Volumnio] He was a legate of D. Brutus (871, 1). In that letter Cicero gives an account of the reception by the Senate of the despatches brought by Volumnius. We may, perhaps, assume that Cicero wrote this letter before that meeting, immediately after receiving the letters of Brutus.

DCCCLXIII. (FAM. XI. 12).

et ex Graeceii oratione non modo non restinctum bellum,
 iam inflammatum videtur. Non dubito autem pro tua
 ari prudentia quin perspicias, si aliquid firmitatis nactus sit
 ius, omnia tua illa praeclara in rem publicam merita ad
 m esse ventura; ita enim Romam erat nuntiatum, ita per-
 n omnibus, cum paucis inermis, perterritis metu, fracto animo
 e Antonium. 2. Qui si ita se habet, ut, quem ad modum
 am de Graeceio, configi cum eo sine periculo non possit, non
 hi fugisse a Mutina videtur, sed locum belli gerendi mutasse.
 e homines alii facti sunt: non nulli etiam queruntur, quod
 uti non sitis: opprimi potuisse, si celeritas adhibita esset,
 nant. Omnino est hoc populi maximeque nostri, in eo
 mum abuti libertate, per quem eam consecutus sit. Sed
 providendum est, ne quae iusta querella esse possit. Res
 habet: is bellum confecerit, qui Antonium oppresserit. Hoc
 vim habeat te existimare malo quam me apertius scribere.

ctum] 'stamped out': inflam-
 'in full blaze.'
 hilum esse ventura] cp. Tusc. ii. 5,
 evi tempore ad nihilum ventura.
 al word is *recidere* not *venire*, cp.

of feeling has taken place': cp. Plaut.
 Trin. i. 2, 123, *verbis paucis quam cito*
Alium fecisti me, alius ad te veneram.
persecuti non sitis] The verb here is
 used absolutely, cp. 860, 2, as *sequor*

DCCCLXIV. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 16).

CAMP IN MACEDONIA ; MIDDLE OF MAY (ABOUT) ; A. U. C. 711 ;
B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus graviter reprehendit Ciceronis ad Octavium epistolam qua eum rogarat ut liberatores patriae salvos vellet.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Particulam litterarum tuarum, quas misisti Octavio, legi missam ab Attico mihi. Studium tuum curaque de salute mea nulla me nova voluptate affecit ; non solum enim usitatum, sed

Ruete (p. 97), on the grounds (1) that Plut. Brut. 22 would seem to refer this censure to the time of the first appearance of Octavian, and (2) that Brutus does not mention any of his military exploits, dates this letter the end of December, 710 (44). It is more probable, however, that this letter was written about the same time as 865, after the Battle of Mutina (cp. 865, 2), owing to the identity of subject, and because if Cicero had received this letter, he could not have written to Brutus ever again in such a friendly tone as 844 exhibits. It is best to suppose that Plutarch was once more inaccurate in chronology (cp. note to 850, 1), being led into this error because such warnings and censures, as Brutus here utters, would seem more effective and more worthy of the supposed devotion to principle on the part of their author if they were represented as being made immediately on Octavian's appearance in politics. If we take Plutarch's chronology strictly we must date the letter referred to in Brut. 22 at a time before Brutus arrived at Velia (c. 23) in the middle of August. But at that time Cicero had not publicly come forward in support of Octavian. Ruete (p. 63) rightly says that c. 22 is foisted in between chaps. 21 and 23, and owes its origin to a different source from that which supplied the events narrated in those chapters, probably to the same source as supplied Ant. 16, Cic. 45. As to the other objection, it ought not to surprise us that Brutus did not make any mention of his military actions : for he was entirely absorbed in his censure of Cicero's indulgence towards Octavian, and concentra-

tion of purpose was a marked feature of the character of Brutus (*quidquid vult, valde vult*). For the tone of this letter, and still more for that of 865, cp. what Cicero himself says of some of the Epistles of Brutus : Att. vi. 1, 7 (252), *Brutus ad me . . . etiam cum rogat aliquid contumaciter adroganter ἀκροβολήσας solet scribere*. Also vi. 3, 7 (264) ; xiii. 6, 3 (554), *obiurgatoria Bruti epistola*.

This letter and the following one to Atticus are of the nature of manifestoes, or formal protests against Cicero's policy. Thus we may account for the studied and elaborate style of the documents, which are ponderous and laboured, even for Brutus. Their genuineness has, of course, been impugned, mainly on the ground of the miserable paucity of ideas advanced by the writer. Absolutely convincing proof on either side cannot be adduced. It is possible that the letters may be the composition of a rhetorician ; but it is by no means impossible that they may have been the work of the narrow-minded, stiff, and ungracious Brutus.

With regard to the poverty of thought displayed in this letter and the following, we think that a mark of genuineness. When a feeble man gives way to irritability he is generally verbose : and at this time Brutus in his relations with Cicero was dominated by one single ground of complaint, and he urges that complaint in every possible and conceivable way. Various other objections we have attempted to answer in the notes.

Gurlitt, who believes that Brut. i. 15, 16, 17 (914, 864, 865) are the work of a later rhetorician, holds the following view of

DCCCLXIV. (BRUT. I. 16).

cotidianum est aliquid audire de te, quod pro nostra digni-
fideliter atque honorifice dixeris aut feceris. At dolore,
um maximum capere animo possum, eadem illa pars epis-

igin. It is fairly well established
utarch, in his Life of Brutus, 19-
ere the personality of Brutus comes
strongly into the fore-ground, has
from a Greek source based on the
es of Asinius Pollio (cp. Georges
t in Leipziger Studien, i. 203 ff.,
Gurlitt (Philologus, Suppl. v. 615)
his view as to the source of Plu-
and Appian, and thinks that that
was Strabo. He is of opinion
that the author of 864, 865 took
aterial direct from Pollio. But
was a bitter enemy of Cicero (cp.
Contr. 6, 14; 6, 24), so that we
suppose that Pollio forged letters
ing to belong to the correspond-
f Cicero: for it is unlikely that
Atticus would have given Pollio
of Cicero damaging to his charac-
esides Atticus never allowed any
of anti-monarchical tendency to be
ed (cp. Philologus, Suppl. iv. p.

recognize the learning and inge-
displayed in this reasoning: but
as to think that the writer of Tem-

especially when the epigrammatic expres-
sion which Cicero seems to have permitted
himself to use in reference to the proper
treatment of the young man—*laudandum*
adulescentem, ornandum, tollendum, cp. 877,
1—had become unfortunately a by-word.
But we must bear in mind the position of
Cicero at this time. His endeavour was to
keep all the commanders who had legions
at their disposal in loyalty to the republic;
and among those commanders were on the
one hand the heir of Caesar, and on the
other hand the murderers of Caesar. A
certain amount of duplicity was accord-
ingly inevitable. He had to ask the
former to forego his natural desire for
vengeance, and the latter to forego their
jealousy of the great honours bestowed
on the young Octavian: and generally in
writing to each of the commanders he
had to exaggerate the influence which his
correspondent for the time being would
exercise on the general result which was
in process of being worked out. This
consideration will help to explain expres-
sions in several of the letters which
appear to be at variance with one another.

tolae scripta ad Octavium de nobis affecit; sic enim illi gratias agis de re publica, tam suppliciter ac demisse—quid scribam? pudet condicionis ac fortunae, sed tamen scribendum est—commendas nostram salutem illi—quae morte qua non perniciosior?—, ut prorsus prae te feras non sublatam dominationem, sed dominum commutatum esse. Verba tua recognosce et aude negare servientis adversus regem istas esse preces. Unum ais esse, quod ab eo postuletur et exspectetur, ut eos cives, de quibus viri boni populusque Romanus bene existimet, salvos velit: quid? si nolit, non erimus? atqui non esse quam esse per illum praestat. 2. Ego medius fidiis non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse a salute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus sit pro salute cuiusquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum—iuvat enim magnifice loqui et certe decet adversus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum aut a quoque petendum sit—. Hoc tu, Cicero, posse fateris Octavium et illi amicus es? aut, si me carum habes, vis Romae me videri, cum, ut ibi esse possem, commendandus puero illi fuerim? cui quid agis gratias, si, ut nos salvos esse velit et patiatur, rogandum putas? an hoc pro beneficio habendum est, quod se quam Antonium esse maluerit, a quo ista petenda essent? Vindici quidem alienae dominationis, non vicario, equis supplicat,

pudet] *sc. me*: cp. 865, 2, 6.
quae morte qua non perniciosior] The more natural order would be *quae qua morte*.

sed dominum commutatum esse] cp. Plut. Brut. 22; Cic. 45.

exspectetur] The Dresden ms has *expetetur*, probably a mere slip, which does not justify the alteration to *expetatur*.

nolit] Wesenberg reads *nolet*. Schmidt finds *noluit* in the Dresden ms. The latter may be right: cp. for similar consecution of tenses, Fam. vii. 14, 1 (172): Phil. ix. 2.

2. *aversos a*] 'hostile to.'

non dicam] This phrase is perhaps a shade stronger than *ne dicam*: cp. for *non dicam*, Mil. 34, *quid erat cur Milo non dicam admitteret sed optaret*.

iuvat] Cicero always uses this word with an accusative as well as the infinitive. Livy (Pref. § 3) and the Augustan poets (Verg. G. i. 413) use the simple infinitive as here (cp. Dräger, ii.

351).

quid pro quoque timendum] The construction of *pro* after a verb of fearing instead of the dative is chiefly found in the post-Ciceronian age (Liv. ii. 24, 4; Plin. Epp. iii. 17, 3, and Mayor's note). Cicero uses the dative, or *de* with ablative. Golbéry proposes to read *quid pro quoque* (= et pro quo) *timendum aut a quo petendum sit*.

me videri] We have inserted *me* with Cobet, which might easily have fallen out after *Romae* (= Rome); but we need not alter *videri* to *videre*: cp. Varro R. R. i. 2, 4, *ubi sol sex mensibus continuis non videtur* ('is seen').

Vindici . . . supplicat] 'Is there any person who addresses prayers for the safety of benefactors of their country to a man who has put down the tyranny of another? Are they not rather addressed to one who steps into that tyranny?' For *vindici* cp. §§ 4, 6; 865, 2. Perhaps Brutus is quoting words of Cicero's own (*vindici*: *vicarius*).

DCCCLXIV. (BRUT. I. 16).

optime meritis de re publica liceat esse salvis? 3. Ista vero
cillitas et desperatio, cuius culpa non magis in te residet
in omnibus aliis, et Caesarem in cupiditatem regni impulit
Antonio post interitum illius persuasit, ut interfecti locum
bare conaretur, et nunc puerum istum *ita* extulit, ut tu iudi-
precibus esse impetrandam salutem talibus viris misericor-
ae unius vix etiam nunc viri tutos fore nos, haud ulla alia re.
si Romanos nos esse meminissemus, non audacius dominari
rent postremi homines, quam id nos prohiberemus, neque
s irritatus esset Antonius regno Caesaris quam ob eiusdem
em deterritus. 4. Tu quidem, consularis et tantorum scelerum
ex—quibus oppressis vereor ne in breve tempus dilata sit abs
ernicies—, qui potes intueri, quae gesseris, simul et ista vel
are vel ita demisse ac facile pati, ut probantis speciem
as? quod autem tibi cum Antonio privatim odium? nempe,
postulabat haec, salutem ab se peti, precariam nos incolumi-
n habere, a quibus ipse libertatem accepisset, esse arbitrium
a de re publica, quaerenda esse arma putasti, quibus dominari
liberetur: scilicet, ut illo prohibito rogaremus alterum, qui se
us locum reponi pateretur, an ut esset sui iuris ac mancipii

honoribus ut participes frui, quantis vellemus; quid enim negaret iis, quorum patientiam videret maximum dominationis suae praesidium esse? Sed nihil tanti fuit, quo venderemus fidem nostram et libertatem. 5. Hic ipse puer, quem Caesaris nomen incitare videtur in Caesaris interfectores, quanti aestimet, si sit commercio locus, posse nobis auctoribus tantum, quantum profecto poterit, quoniam vivere *per se* et pecunias habere et dici consulares volumus! Ceterum nequidquam perierit ille, cuius interitu quid gavisus sumus, si mortuo *eo* nihilo minus servituri eramus? Nulla cura ab aliis adhibetur, sed mihi prius omnia di deaeque eripuerint quam illud iudicium, quo non modo heredi eius, quem occidi, *id* non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut patiente me plus legibus ac senatu possit: an hoc tibi persuasum est, fore ceteros ab *eo* liberos, quo invito nobis in ista civitate locus non sit? Qui porro *id*, quod petis, fieri potest ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos salvos esse: videmur ergo tibi

patientiam] 'subservience': very frequent in this sense in Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 26; Hist. ii. 29; Agr. 16. It is a use of the word which would not naturally become prominent until times of despotism.

nihil tanti fuit quo] 'nothing was of such importance that we should sell our loyalty and freedom for it.' *Fidem*, i.e. loyalty to the free state.

5. *aestimet . . . posse*] This construction belongs mostly to post-Ciceronian times: cp. Val. Max. ii. 6, 8; Plin. Epp. iii. 2, 5, and Mayor's note; but Cicero uses it once in translating a line of Epicharmus, Tusc. i. 15, *sed me esse mortuum nihil aestimo*: cp. Schmalz, Antibarbar. i. 111.

commercio] 'bargaining.'

vivere per se] We have added *per se*, as the mere wish of the tyrannicides for life would not increase the power of Octavian; but that power would be increased if they were satisfied to *owe* their lives to him.

Ceterum] The difficulty in the next few clauses lies chiefly in the sentence *Nulla cura adhibetur* (most mss omit *ab aliis*, see Adn. Crit.). Meyer supposes that the clause has got out of place, and that we should read, *Ceterum nequidquam perierit ille* <si> *nulla cura adhibetur: cuius interitu, &c.* Cobet wishes to omit *nulla cura adhibetur* altogether. Madvig (A. C. iii. 200) suggests *Ceterum <ne> nequidquam*

perierit . . . eramus, nulla cura adhibetur which is very attractive. It may be noticed that Cicero uses *ceterum* only once, Q. Fr. ii. 12 (14), 1 (139); and, except in translating (Tusc. iii. 59), or quoting (Cael. 37) uses *nequidquam* only once (Quint. 79). Tusc. iii. 18 is, of course, not an exception.

mortuo eo] *mortuo* is certainly abl. abs. We must add *eo*, or *illo*, with Cobet; for though the subject is often supplied with abl. abs. from preceding words (cp. Caes. B. G. iv. 12, 3, and Dräger, ii. 787), especially in Livy, yet the ambiguity here would be too great, for a reader would almost certainly take *mortuo* as the dative.

id concesserim] We have ventured to add *id*, which makes the construction more regular, and which might have fallen out after *occidi*. 'May heaven rob me of everything sooner than the fixed determination to refuse to allow—I will not say the heir of the man I slew, but even my father himself, were he to come to life—without resistance on my part, to hold a power above the law and the senate.'

quo invito] 'when, if he is unwilling, we have no footing in the state.'

Rogas enim velit] This construction of *rogare* with the simple subjunctive is a favourite one with Brutus: cp. 867, 2, 4

utem accepturi, cum vitam acceperimus? quam, si prius dimittimus dignitatem et libertatem, qui possumus accipere? 6. An Romae habitare, id putas incolumem esse? res, non locus oportet praestet istuc mihi: neque incolumis Caesare vivo fui, nisi steaquam illud conscivi facinus, neque usquam exsul esse possum, ut servire et pati contumelias peius odero malis omnibus aliis. Nonne hoc est in easdem tenebras recidisce, si ab eo, qui tyranni nomen ascivit sibi,—cum in Graecis civitatibus liberi tyrannorum pressis illis eodem supplicio afficiantur,—petitur, ut vindices atque pressores dominationis salvi sint? Hanc ego civitatem videreolim aut putem ullam, quae ne traditam quidem atque inculcatam libertatem recipere possit plusque timeat in puero nomen sublatis, quam confidat sibi, cum illum ipsum, qui maximas opes habuerit, paucorum virtute sublatum videat? Me vero posthac ne commendaveris Caesari tuo, ne te quidem ipsum, si me audies: unde care aestimas tot annos, quot ista aetas recipit, si propter me causam puero isti supplicaturus es. 7. Deinde, quod pulcherrime fecisti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur a laude maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis; nam, si Octavius tibi nocet, a quo de nostra salute petendum sit, non dominum fugisse.

ob ea, quae adhuc fecit, plane probo, sunt enim laudanda, si modo contra alienam potentiam, non pro sua suscepit eas actiones; cum vero iudicas tantum illi non modo licere, sed etiam a te ipso tribuendum esse, ut rogandus sit, ne nolit esse nos salvos, nimium magnam mercedem statuis—id enim ipsum illi largiris, quod per illum habere videbatur res publica—, neque hoc tibi in mentem venit, si Octavius illis dignus sit honoribus, quia cum Antonio bellum gerat, iis qui illud malum exciderint, cuius istae reliquiae sunt, nihil, quo expleri possit eorum meritum, tributurum umquam populum Romanum, si omnia simul congesserit. 8. Ac vide, quanto diligentius homines metuant, quam meminerint: quia Antonius vivit atque in armis est, de Caesare vero, quod fieri potuit ac debuit, transactum est neque iam revocari in integrum potest, Octavius is est, qui quid de nobis iudicaturus sit exspectet populus Romanus, nos ii sumus, de quorum salute unus homo rogandus videatur. Ego vero, ut istuc revertar, is sum, qui non modo non supplicem, sed etiam coërceam postulantes, ut sibi supplicetur, aut longe a servientibus abero mihi que esse iudicabo Romam, ubicumque liberum esse licebit, ac vestri miserebor, quibus nec aetas neque honores nec virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi

illis] So we read with Lehmann (p. 135) for *ullis*. Brutus would hardly imply that Octavian deserved no honours at all in return for his energetic action against Antony; in 866, 4, he says, *prudentia porro, quae tibi superest, nulla abs te desideratur nisi modus in tribuendis honoribus*.

expleri . . . meritum] 'their deserts can be adequately recompensed.' Meyer (p. 154) says that this use of *explere* cannot be paralleled; *explere* can be used of gratifying a desire (*odium*), or of fulfilling a duty (*munus*), but not of making a sufficient return for a service performed. But if the metaphor, derived from filling an empty space, can be applied to, say, *officium*, cp. Fam. xvi. 25 (793), it can also be applied to a service which demands a grateful return; and the metaphor is not more crude than *flectere* and *dirigere* applied to *iudicium* (§ 11).

8. *quanto diligentius . . . meminerint*] 'how much more intent men's minds are under the influence of present fear than in the thought of it when past': *dili-*

genter metuere is certainly a strange expression, but the meaning is plain: while in fear men direct their whole mind to the cause of the fear, and to the means of extricating themselves from it; when the fear is removed they let their minds wander away to other things and forget their helpers.

quia Antonius . . . potest] 'because Antony is alive and in the field, while as regards Caesar, what could and should have been done is past and over, and cannot now be undone.' No exact parallel can be quoted for *in integrum revocari*; but Markland quotes *in irritum revocari* from Senec. Controv. 4, 26; and Meyer quotes Liv. xxxi. 32, *cum praecipitata raptim consilia neque revocari neque in integrum restitui possint*.

virtus aliena] 'if neither your age nor your distinctions, nor the nobleness of others has been able to lessen in you the feeling that life is sweet.' By *virtus aliena* Brutus means the noble example which the tyrannicides set in risking their lives for freedom.

DCCCLXIV. (BRUT. I. 16).

quere potuerit. 9. Mihi quidem ita beatus esse videbor, si
o constanter ac perpetuo placebit hoc consilium, ut relatum
m gratiam pietati meae; quid enim est melius quam memoria
e factorum et libertate contentum negligere humana? sed
e non succumbam succumbentibus nec vincar ab iis, qui se
i volunt, experiarque et tentabo omnia neque desistam abstra-
a servitio civitatem nostram: si secuta fuerit quae debet
una, gaudebimus omnes; si minus, ego tamen gaudebo, quibus
a potius haec vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur quam
quae pertinuerint ad liberandos cives meos? 10. Te, Cicero,
atque hortor, ne defatigare neu diffidas, semper in praesen-
s malis prohibendis futura quoque, nisi ante sit occursum,
ores, ne se insinuent, fortem et liberum animum, quo et consul
unc consularis rem publicam vindicasti, sine constantia et
abilitate nullum esse putaris; fateor enim duriores esse con-
nem spectatae virtutis quam incognitae: bene facta pro
tis exigimus, quae aliter eveniunt, ut decepti ab iis, infesto
no reprehendimus: itaque resistere Antonio Ciceronem, etsi
ima laude dignum est, tamen, quia ille consul hunc consu-

Cicero, si flexerit adversus alios iudicium suum, quod tanta firmitate ac magnitudine *animi* direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modo reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit sibi, sed etiam praeterita evanescere coget—nihil enim per se amplum est, nisi in quo iudicii ratio exstat—, quia neminem magis decet rem publicam amare libertatisque defensorem esse vel ingenio vel rebus gestis vel studio atque efflagitatione omnium. Quare non Octavius est rogandus, ut velit nos salvos esse: magis tute te exsuscita, ut eam civitatem, in qua maxima gessisti, liberam atque honestam fore putes, si modo sint populo duces ad resistendum improborum consiliis.

that the consul of yore should guarantee the consular of to-day.' Meyer (p. 157) wishes to take *praestare*, 'to excel,' which is quite possible. It is not a Ciceronian usage, but it is found in Nepos (Att. 18, 5); Hirtius (B. G. viii. 6, 2), and often in Livy: cp. Weissnborn on xlv. 38, 5.

11. *si flexerit* . . . Antonio] 'if, when opposed to others, he has let his judgment swerve, which with such firmness and greatness of soul he kept steadily fixed when he drove Antony forth.' The opposition of *flectere* and *dirigere* can be clearly seen in the application of the

words to *iter*. It is not easy to find an exact parallel to this use of *adversus*, though it is like Plaut. Aul. iv. 7, 9. *Egone ut te adversum mentiar, mater mea*.

iudicii ratio exstat] 'the calculations of calm judgment are prominent.' Wessenberg suggests *constat*, 'there is a proper account taken of judgment,' *ratio constat* being the technical expression for the accounts in a ledger balancing: cp. *καθαροὶ ψήφοι* in Greek.

efflagitatione] For this rare word, cp. Fam. v. 19, 2 (390), 916, 6.

APPENDIX.—As we have had occasion so often to refer to Plutarch, Brut. 22, and as the chapter plainly refers to some formal document similar to this letter, we have thought it well to print that chapter in *extenso*:—

'Εν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἑτέρα γίνεται μεταβολὴ τοῦ νίου Καίσαρος ἐπελθόντος. Οἷτος ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀδελφιδῆς Καίσαρος, γράμματι δὲ παῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμος ἀπολειμμένος. Ἐν δ' Ἀπολλωνίᾳ διέτριβεν ὅτε Καῖσαρ ἀνῆρέθη, σχολάζων περὶ λόγους κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ Πάρθους ἐλαύνειν εὐθὺς ἐγνωκότα προσμένων. Ἀμα δὲ τῷ πυθέσθαι τὸ πάθος ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ δημαγωγίας ἀρχὴν τοῦνομα Καίσαρος θέμενος αὐτῷ καὶ διανέμων τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἀργύριον τοῖς πολίταις Ἀντώνιον τε κατεστασίαζε καὶ χρήματα διαδίδους συνίστη καὶ συνήγε πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος στρατευομένων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων τῷ πρὸς Ἀντόνιον μίσει τὰ Καίσαρος ἔποατε, τούτῃ μὲν ὁ Βρούτος

ἐπέκληττεν ἰσχυρῶς, γράφων ὡς οὐ δεσπότην βαρύνοιτο Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ μισοῦντα δεσπότην φοβοῖτο καὶ πολιτεῦοιτο δουλείας αἵρεσιν φιλανθρώπου γράφων καὶ λέγων ὡς χρηστός ἐστι Καῖσαρ. "Οἱ δὲ πρόγονοι" φησὶν "ἡμῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς δεσπότης ὑπέμεινον." Αὐτῷ δ' εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ μήτε πολεμεῖν βεβαίως δεδόχθαι μήτε ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνον εἶναι βεβουλευμένον, τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν θανατῶσαι δὲ Κικέρωνος, εἰ πόλεμον μὲν ἐμφύλιον καὶ κινδυνώδη δέδοικεν, αἰσχρὰν δὲ καὶ ἄδοξον εἰρήνην οὐ φοβεῖται, τοῦ δ' Ἀντόνιον ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰτεῖ τὸ Καίσαρα καταστήσαι τύραννον. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρώταις ἐπιστολαῖς τοιοῦτος ὁ Βρούτος.

DCCCLXV. (BRUT. I. 17).

DCCCLXV. BRUTUS TO ATTICUS (BRUT. I. 17).

CAMP IN MACEDONIA ; ABOUT MIDDLE OF MAY ; A. U. C. 711 ;
B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus ad Atticum de Ciceronis nimio Octavii ornandi studio vehementer con-
turbatur, eundemque reprehendit, qui, cum Antonii dominationem oppresserit, novam
faciat Octavii.

BRUTUS ATTICO SAL.

1. Scribis mihi mirari Ciceronem, quod nihil significem umquam
in his actis : quoniam me flagitas, coactu tuo scribam, quae sentio.
Quia fecisse Ciceronem optimo animo scio ; quid enim mihi ex-
pectatius esse potest quam illius animus in rem publicam ? sed
quid mihi videtur, quid dicam ? ‘ imperite,’ vir omnium pru-
dentissimus, an ‘ ambitiose’ fecisse, qui valentissimum Antonium
superare pro re publica non dubitarit inimicum ? Nescio, quid
scribam tibi, nisi unum : pueri et cupiditatem et licentiam potius

mus Idus Martias similiter atque ille Nonas Decembres suas in ore habet, eo meliore condicione, Cicero pulcherrimum factum vituperabit, quam Bestia et Clodius reprehendere illius consulatum soliti sunt? 2. Sustinuisse mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster: quid hoc mihi prodest, si merces Antonii oppressi poscitur in Antonii locum successio et si vindex illius mali auctor exstitit alterius fundamentum et radices habituri altiores, si patiamur? ut iam ista, quae facit,—dominationem an dominum an Antonium?—timentis sint; ego autem gratiam non habeo, si quis, dum ne irato serviat, rem ipsam non deprecatur, immo triumphum et stipendium decernit et omnibus decretis hortatur, ne eius pudeat concupiscere fortunam, cuius nomen susceperit: consularis hoc aut Ciceronis est? 3. Quoniam mihi tacere non licuit, leges, quae tibi necesse est molesta esse; etenim ipse sentio, quanto cum dolore haec ad te scripserim, nec ignoro, quid sentias in re publica et quam desperatam quoque sanari putes posse, nec mehercule te, Attice, reprehendo, aetas enim, mores, liberi segnem efficiunt,

possibly, as Ruete (p. 99) suggests, Cicero lost his temper with Casca when the latter opposed his decree, which granted an ovation to Octavian (cp. 914, 9). Bestia was a tribune in 691 (59), and a bitter opponent of Cicero: cp. Sall. Cat. 43, *constituerant uti L. Bestia, tr. pl., contione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli imponeret*. It is rare, as Markland (pp. 114–116) points out, to find *plures* instead of the normal *plus*: cp. Roby, § 1273; but even Cicero uses the form, cp. Leg. ii. 39; Orat. 218; and it is quite common from the time of Livy.

2. *Sustinuisse*] For the omission of the pronoun, cp. 850, 2 (*rediturum*); 864, 5 (*posse*); Rosc. Am. 61 (where editors wrongly insert *te*): Liv. xxiii. 10, 13; and Madv. § 401.

si merces] cp. Plut. Brut. 22, τοῦ δ' Ἀντωνίου ἐμβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰτεῖ τὸ Κασσάρᾳ καταστῆσαι τύραννον.

ut iam ista . . . sint] We adhere to the mss; 'so that his attitude is that of a man afraid—is it of tyranny, or a tyrant, or Antony?' For this use of *an*, cp. Madv. on Fin. ii. 104, and our note to Att. i. 3, 2 (8). Brutus implies that Cicero's quarrel with Antony is due to personal motives and not to hatred of tyranny or hatred of Antony because he was a tyrant, but to

private hatred of Antony as Antony. Madvig and Wesenberg omit *an* before *Antonium*; but, in our opinion, that weakens both the sense and the sentence.

immo triumphum . . . est] The reading we have adopted is that of Wesenberg. For the mss readings see Adn. Crit. Attractive, too, is Madvig's correction (A. C. iii. 201), *immo triumphus et stipendium et omnibus decretis hortatio, ne eius pudeat concupiscere fortunam, cuius nomen susceperit, consularis aut Ciceronis est?* As regards the difficulty about *triumphus*, see note to 914, 9. Brutus does not appear to be exaggerating here (though Appian, iii. 80, 82 does not attribute to Cicero any part in the decree which granted a triumph to Octavian); for we certainly gather from 914, 9. that Cicero took the initiative in this motion.

3. *et quam desperatam . . . posse*] The emphatic word is *desperatam*, 'and how critical you consider its condition, though you think it can be cured.' The wise moderation and policy of compromise recommended by Atticus would not commend itself to the rigid republicanism and so-called stoicism of Brutus. Van der Vliet (Jahrb. 1885, p. 376) suggests *et quam desper<es liber> atam quoque sanari posse*, which is ingenious, but too bold.

DCCCLXV. (BRUT. I. 17).

quidem etiam ex Flavio nostro perspexi. 4. Sed redeo ad
onem : quid inter Salvidienum et eum interest ? quid autem
us ille decerneret ? ‘ Timet,’ inquires, ‘ etiam nunc reliquias
civilis.’ Quisquam ergo ita timet profligatum, ut neque
tiam eius, qui exercitum victorem habet, neque temeritatem
putet extimescendam esse ? an hoc ipsum ea re facit, quod
propter amplitudinem omnia iam ultroque deferenda putat ?
gnam stultitiam timoris, id ipsum, quod verearis, ita cavere,
m vitare fortasse potueris, ultro arcessas et attrahas ! Nimum
us mortem et exsilium et paupertatem : haec mihi videntur
oni ultima esse in malis, et, dum habeat, a quibus impetret,
velit, et a quibus colatur ac laudetur, servitutem, honorifi-
modo, non aspernatur—si quidquam in extrema ac miserrima

[*ex Flavio*] This is the mss reading, which
in with Ruete (p. 116); the editors
alter to *in*. That *ex* makes the
more rude than *in* does not render
less likely to have come from Brutus
(*ex*, introd. note). For Flavius, see
also Plut. Brut. 51. From a
nt of a letter written by Cicero
us (ap. Quintil. ix. 3, 58) it would

Octavian is so great that everything must
at once and unasked be *offered* to him’—
for, if they were not voluntarily offered,
he would simply take them.

stultitiam . . . ita cavere] cp. N. D.
iii. 84, *esse enim stultitiam a quibus bona
precaremur ab vis porrigentibus et dantibus
nolle sumere*, where Prof. Mayor quotes
Plaut. Stich. i. 2, 82, *Stultitiast, pater*,

contumelia potest honorificum esse. 5. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem, referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat, tamen illud apparebit, verba rebus esse contraria: quid enim tam alienum ab humanis sensibus est quam eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero sit? atqui eo tendit, id agit, ad eum exitum properat vir optimus, ut sit illi Octavius propitius. Ego vero iam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus Ciceronem scio instructissimum esse; quid enim illi prosunt, quae pro libertate patriae, quae de dignitate, quae de morte, exsilio, paupertate scripsit copiosissime? quanto autem magis illa callere videtur Philippus, qui privigno minus tribuerit, quam Cicero, qui alieno tribuat! Desinat igitur gloriando etiam insectari dolores nostros: quid enim nostra victum esse Antonium, si victus est, ut alii vacaret, quod ille obtinuit? 6. Tametsi tuae litterae dubia etiam nunc significant. Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex et obnoxius, si neque aetatis neque honorum neque rerum gestarum pudet: ego certe, quin cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno et imperiis extraordinariis et dominatione et potentia, quae

in extrema ac miserrima contumelia] 'in the last, most abject depth of degradation.'

5. *Octavius*] cp. note to 864, 1. *referat omnia*] This does not necessarily mean 'to put down to the credit of' (*referat acceptis*), but rather 'to refer' or 'to notify' matters to Cicero in order to get his advice: cp. Att. vii. 16, 3 (313). *De Terentia et Tullia tibi adsentior ad quas scripseram, ad te ut referrent*; xvi. 3, 6 (773); Fam. iii. 8, 5 (222); xii. 2, 3 (790). In all these cases the person to whom reference is made is in the acc. with *ad*. Accordingly we think it not improbable that <*ad Ciceronem*> should be inserted before *referat*—it might have dropped out after the previous *Ciceronem*. The repetition of the name would add to the force of the sentence.

quam eum . . . sit] i.e. that Octavius should call Cicero his father, and yet be his master: *propitius*, 'gracious,' as if Octavius were a god.

de dignitate] Perhaps the lost treatise, *De Gloria*.

de morte] Probably the first book of the Tusculan Disputations. We are not sure what the treatises were in which Cicero dilated on *exsiliū* and *paupertas*; perhaps consolations addressed to repub-

licans who were exiled by Caesar.

illa callere] cp. Balb. 32, *neque Poenorum iura calles*.

Philippus] cp. Att. xiv. 12, 2 (715), *Octavius, quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non item, ilaque ne nos quidem, quem nego posse bonum civem*; also xv. 12, 2 (745).

insectari dolores nostros] 'to assail us in our miseries': cp. Phil. ii. 98, *nullius insector calamitatem*. The magniloquent language in which Cicero decreed honours to Octavian must have been galling to the jealous Brutus, who had good reason to feel sad at the turn events were taking, and at the futility of his own endeavours.

quid enim nostra?] sc. *interest*: cp. Att. iv. 5, 3 (108), *quid enim tua? sed viderim*. Plaut. Amph. iii. 4, 20, *Quid [id] mea?* Heidemann (p. 89) adds Senec. Epist. 91, 19, *Quid enim, inquit, mea* [So Vahlen; but Haase adds *refert*]; Senec. Contr. 415, 24 (Kiessling), *nihil, inquit, mea an cogaris*; but it is doubtful whether from these passages a defence can be made for Fam. ix. 6, 6 (470), *quae tua audio*, sc. *interesse*.

6. *supplex et obnoxius*] 'cringing and subservient.'

quin] governed by *deterrear*.

DCCCLXV. (BRUT. I. 17).

leges se esse velit, nulla erit tam bona condicio serviendi, eterrear, quamvis sit vir bonus, ut scribis, [Antonius], quod umquam existimavi; sed dominum ne parentem quidem res nostri voluerunt esse. Te nisi tantum amarem, quantum oni persuasum est diligi se ab Octavio, haec ad te non scri- m: dolet mihi, quod tu nunc stomacharis amantissimus cum m omuium, tum Ciceronis; sed persuade tibi de voluntate ia mea nihil esse remissum, de iudicio largiter, neque enim rari potest, quin, quale quidque videatur ei, talem quisque de opinionem habeat. 7. Vellem mihi scripsisses, quae condici- essent Atticae nostrae: potuissem aliquid tibi de meo sensu ibere. Valetudinem Porciae meae tibi curae esse non miror.

vis sit vir bonus, ut scribis] 'be monarch ever so good a man, as y he is'; i.e. I am a foe to the hy, be the monarch ever so good. s is to be understood out of domi- , and Antonius is to be ejected; aps dominus should be read instead onius, which may have been a gloss . Antonius is certainly wrong, for erence, if not quite general, is to s; and this is what Tunstall reads:

a letter, now lost, speaking of Porcia's illness. This reached Brutus somewhere in the interior of Macedonia about June 21. On June 22 Brutus answered this letter in 865, 7, which reached Cicero about July 10. On July 11 Cicero wrote to Brutus 913, complaining (§ 1) of his very short letter—'only three lines.' This very short letter Gurlitt thinks was 865, 7. Further, he ingeniously argues that if we add this (as he holds) genuine

Denique, quod petis, faciam libenter, nam etiam sorores me rogant :
et hominem noro et quid sibi voluerit.

DCCCLXVI. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 3-6).

CAMP ABOUT 75 MILES E. OF DYRRHACHIUM ; MAY 15 ; A. U. C. 711 ;
B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Ciceronem monet Brutus ne nimis honoribus Octaviano tribuendis malum exemplum inducatur, quo qui abutantur regnandi cupiditate ducti, iis regnandi detur occasio.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

3. * * Nunc, Cicero, nunc agendum est, ne frustra oppressum
esse Antonium gavisi simus neu semper primi cuiusque mali
excidendi causa sit, ut aliud renascatur illo peius. 4. Nihil

quod petis] We do not know to what private affairs Brutus is here referring.

This letter appears in the mss as the latter half of 857 (cp. §3 of that letter), but cp. note to 857, l. Now that both consuls were dead Brutus appears to be afraid that perhaps the consulship may be actually given to Octavian, who had been granted permission on January 1 (Phil. v. 47) to stand for it ten years before the ordinary time. Brutus had probably reached a point about 75 miles on his eastward march in the 8 days which elapsed since he wrote 857.

3. *Nunc*] So the mss, except one Oxford ms which reads *id*: then the sentence beginning with *ne* is epexegetical of this *id*. Becher and Cobet wish to read *cavendum* for *nunc agendum*. But *nunc* means 'now that the consuls are dead.'

neu semper . . . causa sit] 'There is something wrong with this sentence. We should expect some word like *festinatio* after *excidendi*. Middleton suggested *ratio*, Becher *cura*, Markland *omissio*. Cobet reads *excidium* for *excidendi*. A simpler addition would be *ea* after *causa*, which might readily have fallen out after that word, which, in its abbreviated form is *ca*. Translate 'lest the plea that each evil should be cut down the moment it ap-

pears bring it to pass that (lit. "be of such a nature that ") another worse evil springs again into existence.' For *causa* = 'plea,' 'excuse,' cp. Phil. i. 28, *nec erat iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis*. Becher (Rh. M., p. 594) supposes that the sentence exhibits a contorted example of the attributive genitive of the gerund, and is virtually = *neu semper primum quodque malum excidere* (subject) *causa sit* (pred.) *ut* &c. cp. Brut. 258, *aetatis illius ista laus fuit tanquam innocentiae, sic Latine loquendi*: Senec. Consol. ad Polybium 9, 9 (29), *est, mihi crede, magna felicitas in ipsa felicitate moriendi*: Liv. xxx. 49, 13, *quod optimum esse dicunt non interponendi* (the Mainz ms and Weiss. read *interponi*) *eos bello, nihil immo tam alienum rebus vestris est*: Tac. Ann. xiii. 26, 4, *nec grave munusculis per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem per quod adsecuti sint* (where Madv. inserts *onus* and Ritter *munus*): xv. 5, 3, *Volegesi vetus et penitus inflexum erat arma Romana vitandi* (where Madv. inserts *votum*, Ritter *studium*). So far these additions are not really necessary; but in Ann. xv. 21, 3, *et maneat provincialibus potentiam suam tali modo ostentandi* the text is indefensible. Halm adds *ius*, Ritter *potestas*, and Madv. (A. C. ii. 556) read *potestas sententiam* for *potentiam*. See Mr. Furneaux's notes on these passages of Tacitus.

DCCCLXVI. (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 3-6).

que-opinantibus aut patientibus nobis adversi evenire potest,
non cum omnium culpa, tum, praecipue tua futura sit, cuius
auctoritatem senatus ac populus Romanus non solum esse
r, sed etiam cupit, quanta maxima in libera civitate unius
potest: quam tu non solum bene sentiendo, sed etiam prudenter
debes; prudentia porro, quae tibi superest, nulla abs te
ratur nisi modus in tribuendis honoribus. Alia omnia sic
t, ut cum quolibet antiquorum comparari possint tuae virtutes:
hoc a grato animo liberalique profectum, cautiorem ac
tatiorem liberalitatem, desiderant; nihil enim senatus cui-
dare debet, quod male cogitantibus exemplo aut praesidio
Itaque timeo de consulatu, ne Caesar tuus altius se ascendisse
decretis tuis, quam inde, si consul factus sit, sit descensus.

[*que-opinantibus*] This form instead
[*pinans*] is found in Bell. Alex. and
fr. 'For no disaster can happen
from carelessness or submission.'
[*ta maxima*] cp. 864, 1. De Orat.
Translate 'on the largest scale
ch [any man can have power in a
ate.'
[*sentiendo, sed etiam prudenter*] 'Not

Fin. iv. 20, also ii. 42: see too Leh-
mann's note on Fam. ii. 16, 3. Ursinus,
however, claims to have found this read-
ing, in a slightly better form, in one
of his manuscripts, viz. *quam inde, si
consul factus sit, sit descensus* (see
Variorum ed. of the Letters to Brutus,
p. 118). The second *sit* having dropped
out by lipography, *descensus* was altered

5. Quod si Antonius ab alio reliotum regni instrumentum occasionem regnandi habuit, quonam animo fore putas, si quis auctore non tyranno interfecto, sed ipso senatu putet se imperia quaelibet concupiscere posse? quare tum et facilitatem et providentiam laudabo tuam, cum exploratum habere coepero Caesarem honoribus, quos acceperit, extraordinariis fore contentum. 'Alienae igitur,' inquires, 'culpa me reum subiicies?' Prorsus alienae, si provideri potuit, ne existeret: quod utinam inspectare possis timorem de illo meum!

6. His litteris scriptis consulem te factum audivimus: tum vero incipiam proponere mihi rem publicam iustam et iam suis nitentem viribus, si istuc videro. Filius valet et in Macedoniam cum equitatu praemissus est. Idibus Maiis, ex castris.

probably use that position to make himself monarch, or at any rate perpetual consul. There is no necessary allusion to the Caesarian story (App. iii. 82; Dio Cass. xlv. 42; Plut. Cic. 45 ff.), that Octavian and Cicero had entered into a secret agreement to have themselves elected consuls.

5. *regni instrumentum*] 'apparatus for exercising monarchy': cp. 914, 4; Mil. 33.

honoribus, quos acceperit] cp. Phil. v. 46. Not only had he been given a military command as propraetor, but he was admitted to the senate among the praetorii and could sue for magistracies as if he had been quaestor the year before (i.e. as if he were now 32 years of age).

Alienae . . . existeret] 'Will you then, you ask, make me responsible for the crime of another? (i.e. if Octavian becomes disloyal that will be *his* fault not mine). Yes, even for another's crime (you will be responsible) if you could have prevented that crime.' It would certainly be a more forcible sentence if we could suppose that *tibi* dropped out after *si*. Kayser, Madv., and Becher omit *alienae* after *prorsus*; for (these scholars argue) Brutus could not say that the fault was 'another's,' and yet censure Cicero for it. This is pressing the words too closely. Octavian is the chief actor, and the fault may fairly be said to be his, though Cicero becomes an accessory by putting him in the position wherein alone he can act with damage to the state.

quod utinam] *quod* is used in a con-

nexive sense as in *quod si*: cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62).

inspectare] This word, and not *inspicere*, is generally used in such expressions: cp. Fam. i. 9, 19 (153) *me inspectante*, 'before my eyes.'

possis] So the mss. Wes. (E. A. 145) alters to *posses* for this reason, 'nec enim Cicero poterat absentis Bruti timorem inspectare,' an objection which lays too much stress on the absolutely literal acceptance of the words. Becher (Rh. M. 596) rightly says the pres. subj. is more vivid, 'and I only wish you could see my present fear of him.'

6. *His litteris scriptis*] A common beginning of a postscript.

consulem te factum] This was the merest rumour; indeed the fact reported seemed so unlikely that Brutus says not 'this is a real boon to the state,' but 'I shall consider the State really fortunate if I see you consul.' The mention of such a report appears as incidental evidence of the genuineness of the letters. Such mention would hardly have been made by a forger, especially one who was so thoroughly versed in the history of the times as the writer of these letters.

Filius] Brutus had sent young Cicero into Ambracia with orders to bring some cavalry which were there through Thessaly and Macedonia, and to meet him at Heraclea in Lyncestis: cp. 867, 1. Brutus himself was apparently marching straight along the Egnatian Way towards the Chersonese.

ex castris] cp. introd. note.

DCCCLXVII. (BRUT. I. 6).

DCCCLXVII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 6).

TER CANDAVIA ; MAY 19 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus Ciceronem rogat ut Glycona, medicum Pansae, e custodia eripiat ; Flavium, in Dyrrhachinis litem habebat, commendat, et de Dolabella fugato caesoque eum facit.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Noli exspectare, dum tibi gratias agam : iampridem hoc ex
tra necessitudine, quae ad summam benevolentiam pervenit,
atum esse debet. Filius tuus a me abest, in Macedonia con-
temur ; iussus est enim Ambracia ducere equites per Thessa-
et scripsi ad eum, ut mihi Heracleam occurreret : cum eum
ro, quoniam nobis permittis, communiter constituemus de
u eius ad petitionem aut commendationem honoris. 2. Tibi
ona, medicum Pansae, qui sororem Achilleos nostri in matri-
o habet, diligentissime commendo. Audimus eum venisse in

quidem valde rogo—nam Achilleus noster non minus, quam aequum est, laborat—, eripias eum ex custodia conservesque: hoc ego ad meum officium privatarum rerum aequae atque ullam aliam rem pertinere arbitror. 3. Cum has ad te scriberem litteras, a Satrio, legato C. Trebonii, reddita est epistola mihi, a Tillio et Deiotaro Dolabellam caesum fugatumque esse: Graecam epistolam tibi misi Cicereii cuiusdam ad Satrium missam. 4. Flavius noster de controversia, quam habet cum Dyrrhachinis hereditariam, sumpsit te iudicem: rogo te, Cicero, et Flavius rogat, rem conficias. Quin ei, qui Flavium fecit heredem, pecuniam debuerit civitas, non est dubium, neque Dyrrhachini infitiantur, sed sibi donatum aes alienum a Caesare dicunt: noli pati a necessariis tuis necessario meo iniuriam fieri. XIII. K. Iunias ex castris ad imam Candaviam.

DCCCLXVIII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 7).

MACEDONIA (P); AFTER MAY 20; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 68.

Brutus Ciceronem rogat ut Bibulum in Pansae locum nominet, et de Domitio et Appuleio scribit.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. L. Bibulus quam carus mihi esse debeat, nemo melius iudicare potest quam tu, cuius tantae pro re publica contentiones

ad meum officium privatarum rerum] 'to my duty in private matters.'

3. *has ad te scriberem litteras*] Meyer (p. 109) says that Cicero does not use the expression *has scribers litteras*, but *haec scribere*.

Satrio] Nothing is known of Satrius or Cicereius except what is related here.

Tillio] i.e. Tillius Cimber, one of the conspirators, who was now governor of Bithynia (Dio Cass. xlvii. 31, 1).

4. *Flavius*] He was *praefectus fabrum* of Brutus: cp. 865, 3. He fell at Philippi, to the deep grief of Brutus, Plut. Brut. 51.

sed sibi . . . dicunt] an accidental hexameter.

necessariis] Cicero was patronus of

Dyrrhachium: cp. Fam. xiv. 1, 7 (82); 3, 4 (84), and especially Planc. 97, *Dyrrhachium quod erat in mea fide*.

xiii] See introd. note.

imam Candaviam] a mountainous district on the borders of Epirus and Macedonia. Cicero hardly ever uses *imus* for *infimus*, yet cp. Rosc. Com. 20. It often occurs in Cornificius, e.g. ad Herenn. iii. 25, 30; iv. 45; also in Caesar B. G. iii. 19, 1; iv. 17, 3.

The date of this letter cannot be fixed with any certainty. It was after May 20th, the date of 867, and before the end of June, because Cicero answers it on July 14 (913, 1).

1. *L. Bibulus*] Meyer (p. 69) argues

DCCCLXVIII. (BRUT. I. 7).

itudinesque fuerunt: itaque vel ipsius virtus vel nostra necessitas debet conciliare te illi; quo minus multa mihi scribenda arbitror, voluntas enim te movere debet nostra, si modo iusta sit pro officio necessario suscipitur. Is in Pansae locum petere ait; eam nominationem a te petimus: neque coniunctiori beneficium, quam nos tibi sumus, neque digniorem nominare quam Bibulum. 2. De Domitio et Appuleio quid attinet scribere, cum ipsi per se tibi commendatissimi sint? Appuleio vero tu tua auctoritate sustinere debes; sed Appuleius in epistola celebrabitur, Bibulum noli dimittere e sinu tuo, cum iam virum, ex quanto, crede mihi, potest evadere, qui his paucorum respondeat laudibus.

This is the son of M. Bibulus by his marriage with Porcia, daughter of Cato the Elder, who afterwards became wife of Brutus. Porcia can hardly have been born before 678 (76); and if she had a son in 694 (60), he would be only 17 now. Examples can be adduced of young men, at an equally early age were invested in priesthoods (e.g. Caesar was Flamen at 16, Octavian Pontifex Maximus at 16; and young Bibulus may have

come to Brutus, both in collecting an army and in handing over to him a large quantity of state money: cp. note to 850, l. 1. He was probably seeking the pontificate at this time.

[*celebrabitur*] Markland (p. 67) objects to this word, apparently on the ground that there is no other example of its being used of praise of any one addressed to an individual; it is always used of praise addressed to a large mass. We consider

DCCCLXIX. LEPIDUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 34, §§ 1, 2).

PONS ARGENTEUS; MAY 18 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

M. Lepidus narrat quid Antonio adveniente egerit.

M. LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. M. TULLIO CICERONI.

1. S. V. B. E. E. V. Cum audissem Antonium cum suis copiis, praemisso L. Antonio cum parte equitatus in provinciam meam venire, cum exercitu meo ab confluyente Rhodani castra movi ac contra eos venire institui. Itaque continuis itineribus ad Forum Voconii veni et ultra castra ad flumen Argenteum contra Antonianos feci. P. Ventidius suas legiones tres coniunxit cum eo et ultra me castra posuit: habebat antea legionem quintam et ex reliquis legionibus magnam multitudinem, sed inermorum. Equitatum habet magnum: nam omnis ex proelio integer discessit, ita ut sint amplius equitum milia quinque. Ad me complures milites et equites ab eo transierunt et in dies singulos eius copiae minuuntur. 2. Silanus et Culleo ab eo discesserunt. Nos etsi

The Pons Argenteus was a little north-east of Forum Voconii (now Le Canet), on the road between Aquae Sextiae (Aix) and Forum Julii (Fréjus). The Argenteus is now called the Argents. Ventidius, on May 16 (872, 1), was two days' journey from Antony. On the day on which this letter was written he had joined him; so that it cannot have been written before May 18.

1. *ab confluyente Rhodani*] 'from the confluence of the Rhone,' i.e. with the Druentia (Durance), near Avenio. Wesenberg points out that the smaller river is usually mentioned (cp. Caes. B. G. iv. 15, 2; Tac. Hist. ii. 40), and adds <Druentiae ac>: yet cp. Liv. i. 27, 4. Hübner reads *ab confluyente* <Arari et> Rhodano. See Adn. Crit.

ultra] 'beyond the town,' i.e. to the east of it.

legiones tres] The 7th, 8th, 9th: cp. 890, 4.

ultra me] 'to the east of me,' i.e. further on in the direction in which I was facing. For *ultra* with a pronoun cp. Caes. B. G. i. 48, 2, *ultra eum*.

ex reliquis legionibus] i.e. the 2nd and 35th, and three others (probably consisting of recruits with perhaps a few *evocati*): for in Phil. viii. 25, Antony is quoted as stating that he had six legions.

inermorum] For the form, cp. 863, 1. Watson notices that this paragraph leads us to think that Galba's account of Antony's loss was over-stated (cp. 841, 5).

equitum milia quinque] So we read according to the fine emendation of Madvig. H. Pal gives *equitum M. itaque*. But a thousand cavalry would be a small quota with six legions, and no satisfactory sense can be obtained for *itaque*.

2. *Silanus*] cp. 841, 1.

Culleo] Q. Terentius Culleo was appointed by Lepidus to guard the passes of

DCCCLXX. (FAM. X. 18).

iter ab iis laesi eramus, quod contra nostram voluntatem ad
onium ierant, tamen nostrae humanitatis et necessitudinis
eorum salutis rationem habuimus, nec tamen eorum opera
ur neque in castris habemus neque ulli negotio praefecimus.
ad bellum hoc attinet, nec senatui nec rei publicae deerimus.
postea egerimus faciam te certiore.

DCCCLXX. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 18).

MP IN GAUL; MAY 18; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus narrat quibus causis commotus ad Lepidum proficiscatur.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

. Quid in animo habuerim, cum Laevus Nervaue discesse-
a me, et ex litteris, quas eis dedi, et ex ipsis cognoscere
isti, qui omnibus rebus consiliisque meis interfuerunt. Accidit
, quod homini pudenti et cupido satis faciendi rei publicae
sque omnibus accidere solet, ut consilium sequeretur periculosum

faciunt, hostibus obviam ire,—tamen, si quid Lepidus bene sentiens detrimenti cepisset, hoc omne adsignatum iri aut pertinaciae meae aut timori videbam, si aut hominem offensum mihi, coniunctum cum re publica non sublevassem aut ipse a certamine belli tam necessarij me removissem. 3. Itaque potius periclitari volui, si posset mea praesentia et Lepidum tueri et exercitum facere meliorem, quam nimis cautus videri. Sollicitiorem certe hominem, non suis contractis, neminem puto fuisse. Nam quae res nullam habebat dubitationem, si exercitus Lepidi absit, ea nunc magnam adfert sollicitudinem magnumque habet casum. Mihi enim si contigisset ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercules horam constitisset: tantum ego et mihi confido et sic percussas illius copias Ventidiique mulionis castra despicio. Sed non possum

words are found in H, and in some inferior mss. They fell out in H *ex homoeoteleuto*. That we should have *consentiente, bene sentiente, and bene sentiens*, in such close proximity, is somewhat remarkable in such a good writer as Plancus; but those who are not complete masters of language are liable at times to harp on the same word, both in writing and speaking.

sicut milites faciunt] 'as the soldiers of Brutus do,' i.e. *bene de re p. sentiunt*. For this use of *facio*, cp. 872 fin. Boot on Att. xi. 2, 3 (407) compares Nepos Chabr. 3, 4; 4, 5: Hor. Sat. i. 1, 64. For *ἔπαυ* cp. Thucyd. ii. 49, 5.

offensum] 'if I had not helped, when united with me in public business, a man who was on bad terms with me personally.' For the hostility between Plancus and Lepidus cp. 895, 1.

3. *non suis contractis*] 'by no fault of his own.' For *contrahere*, used of committing a fault, cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 2 (30), *ea quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt*: Att. xi. 24, 1 (441), *ea enim est a nobis contracta culpa*. Professor Sandford refers us to Ovid. Trist. iv. 8, 49, *et quaquam vitio pars est contracta malorum*: cp. Rhodius, p. 31, note 4.

absit] Mendelssohn admirably retains the mss readings *absit* and *habebat*, quoting for the unusual use of the present subjunctive, Lucr. ii. 1033, *omnia quae nunc si primum mortalibus extent, Ex improviso si sint obiecta repente, Quid magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici*. Perhaps also Orat. 141, *si profitear . . . qui tandem reprehenderet*? may be quoted as a parallel, though the reading there is uncertain:

cp. Sandys ad loc. For irregular conditional consecutions, cp. Schmalz, Syntax, § 297. Lambinus, Schütz, Wesenberg read *abesset*. Ernesti and Baier alter *habebat* to *habeat*.

magnumque habet casum] 'involves great risk.'

horam] sometimes used for a very brief time: cp. Hor. Epp. i. 1, 82, *Idem eandem possunt horam durare probantes*; Prop. i. 6, 11, *Hic ego non horam possum durare querellis*.

Ventidii mulionis] For the history of this man, who rose from being a slave to being a consul, cp. Gell. xv. 4. In early life he contracted for supplying mules and carriages for the provincial governors: cp. Marq. i. 526. It would appear that he owed his success to the energetic execution of orders (*mandata sibi pleraque impigre et strenue fecisset*: Gell. l. c. § 3). Shakespeare introduces him in one scene (Ant. and Cleop. iii. 1), as wisely refraining, mere lieutenant that he was of Antony, from pushing his victories over the Parthians as far as he could:—

Who does in war more than his captain can
Becomes his captain's captain: and ambition,
The soldier's virtue, rather makes choice of
loss,
Than gain which darkens him.
I could do more to do Antonius good,
But 'twould offend him: and in his offence
Should my performance perish.

Ventidius is the *Sabinus ille* who *ait fuisse mulio celerrimus* in the clever parody of Catullus (iv.) printed in the Catalecta at the end of the editions of Vergil: cp. note to Fam. xv. 20, 1 (702).

DCCCLXXI. (FAM. XI. 18).

exhorrescere, si quid intra cutem subest vulneris, quod prius
re potest quam sciri curarique possit. Sed certe, nisi uno loco
enerem, magnum periculum ipse Lepidus, magnum ea pars
ritus adiret, quae bene de re publica sentit. Magnam etiam
ti hostes accessionem sibi fecissent, si quas copias a Lepido
axissent. Quae si adventus meus represserit, agam gratias
nae constantiaeque meae, quae me ad hanc experientiam
avit. 4. Itaque a. d. xii. Kalend. Iun. ab Isara castra movi:
em tamen, quem in Isara feceram, castellis duobus ad capita
is, reliqui praesidiaque ibi firma posui, ut venienti Bruto
ituique eius sine mora transitus esset paratus. Ipse, ut
y, diebus octo, quibus has litteras dabam, cum Lepidi copiis
oniungam.

DCCCLXXI. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 18).

ROME; MAY 19; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero non nullam timoris significationem reprehendit in D. Bruto.

fuissent, fortissimum iudicaret, timidum atque ignavum iudicari. 2. Etenim, cum te incluso spem maximam omnes habuissent in tua virtute florente Antonio, quis erat qui quidquam timeret profligato illo, te liberato? Nec vero Lepidum timebamus. Quis enim esset, qui illum tam furiosum arbitraretur, ut, qui in maximo bello pacem velle se dixisset, is in optatissima pace bellum rei publicae indiceret? Nec dubito quin tu plus provideas. 3. Sed tamen tam recenti gratulatione, quam tuo nomine ad omnia deorum templa fecimus, renovatio timoris magnam molestiam adferebat. Qua re velim equidem, id quod spero, ut plane abiectus et fractus sit Antonius: sin aliquid virium forte collegerit, sentiet nec senatui consilium nec populo Romano virtutem deesse nec rei publicae te vivo imperatorem. xiv. Kal. Iun.

DCCCLXXII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 17).

ON THE MARCH TO FORUM VOCONII; MAY 20; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;
AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus praesentem belli statum describit, cum excusatione fratris a se dimissi et commendatione suae dignitatis.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Antonius Id. Maiis ad Forum Iulii cum primis copiis venit. Ventidius bidui spatio abest ab eo. Lepidus ad Forum Voconii

2. *Nec . . . tu plus provideas*] 'And I feel no doubt that you can see further into the matter than we can.' *Nec* is co-ordinate with *nec vero*.

3. *tam recenti gratulatione*] 'when the rejoicings were so recent,' ablative of attendant circumstances. The rejoicings were those which took place after the news of the Battle of Mutina arrived.

abiectus et fractus] 'laid low and crushed.'
consilium] 'judgment.'

On May 15th Plancus wrote 861, telling (§ 2) how Lepidus had refused to unite with him. Shortly afterwards, probably

on the 16th, Plancus appears to have sent two of his legates, Laevus and Nerva (870), to Rome in order that they might set forth plainly to the authorities the way in which Lepidus was acting. After their departure, on the 19th, Plancus wrote 870 to Cicero, in which he mentioned that Lepidus had again proposed that they should join forces. Plancus apparently asked Lepidus to send some hostage as a security for his honest dealing, and Lepidus sent Apella (§ 3). Accordingly we may place this letter about a day later than 870.

1. *Forum Voconii*] An inland town about 24 miles due west of *Forum Iulii*: cp. introd. note to 869.

DCCCLXXII. (FAM. X. 17).

ra habet, qui locus a Foro Iulii quattuor et viginti millia
us abest, ibique me exspectare constituit, quem ad modum
mihi scripsit. Quod si omnia mihi integra et ipse et fortuna
arit, recipio vobis celeriter me negotium ex sententia confec-
tum. 2. Fratrem meum adsiduis laboribus concursationibusque
fectum graviter se habuisse antea tibi scripsi: sed tamen cum
um posse ingredi coepit, non magis sibi quam rei publicae se
valuisse existimans ad omnia pericula princeps esse non recu-
t. Sed ego eum non solum hortatus sum, verum etiam coëgi
proficisci, quod et illa valetudine magis conficere se quam me
re posset in castris, et quod acerbissimo interitu consulum rem-
licam nudatam tali cive praetore in urbanis officiis indigere
timabam. Quod si qui vestrum non probabit, mihi pruden-
a in consilio defuisse sciat, non illi erga patriam fidelitatem.
Lepidus tamen, quod ego desiderabam, fecit ut Apellam ad me
eret, quo obside fide illius et societatis in re publica adminis-
da uterer. In ea re studium mihi suum L. Gellius † de
as fratribus Segaviano probavit, quo ego interprete novissime

[*inti millia passus*] Hellmuth (pp. 861, 2, and 870, 2, Plancus was naturally
† has a good note on this construc- distrustful

ad Lepidum sum usus. Amicum eum rei publicae cognosse videor, libenterque ei sum testimonio et omnibus ero, qui bene merentur. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas dignitatemque meam, si mereor, tuearis, sicut adhuc singulari cum benevolentia fecisti.

DCCCLXXIII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 1).

ROME; MAY 20 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

De L. Clodii trib. pl. singulari et cognito in se Brutumque amore et fide accurate scribit Cicero.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. L. Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat: quod cum mihi ita persuasum sit, non dubito—bene enim me nosti—, quin illum quoque iudices a me amari; nihil enim mihi minus hominis videtur quam non respondere in amore iis, a quibus provocere. Is mihi visus est suspicari, nec sine magno quidem dolore, aliquid a suis vel per suos potius iniquos ad te esse delatum, quo tuus animus a se esset alienior. Non soleo, mi Brute, quod tibi notum esse arbitror,

de tribus fratribus Segoviano] This passage cannot be restored without better MSS, or some more information than we at present possess. Two ingenious corrections have been suggested, one that of Orelli, *L. Gellius D. F.* (= Decimi filius) *tribu Fab.* (= Fabia) *Segovianus* (inhabitant of Segovia, a town in Hispania Tarraconensis), or *Segovia* (= 'from Segovia'): the other that of Kleyn, *L. Gellius de tribus fratribus S. A. C.* (i.e. Sexto, Aulo, Gaio) *Avianis*: cp. Fam. ix. 21, 3 (668), *Tres illi fratres fuerunt C. Cn. M. Carbones*. Gitlbauer (p. 91), proposes *de tribus fratribus se segregando*, which is attractive.

testimonio] Predicative dat. cp. Att. viii. 12 c, 1 (329), *cui rei testimonio sunt litterae*, and frequently in Cicero: see Roby, vol. ii., p. liv.

The date of this letter is fixed by that of 874.

1. *L. Clodius . . . amat*] This sen-

tence is quoted by Nonius (421, 31) to show the difference between *amare* and *diligere*. 'Cicero ad Brutum sic igitur facies et me aut amabis aut, quo contentus sum, diliges: et lib. viii.: *Lucius Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit vel, ut enphaticoteron dicam, valde me amat.*' This Clodius is the same man who was *praefectus fabrum* of Appius Claudius Pulcher, Fam. iii. 4, 1 (194); and probably the Clodius who appears in Att. xii. 30 (567); xv. 13, 3 (791). Cobet and Meyer suppose him to be the Gaius Clodius who is mentioned shortly after this time (Dio. Cass. xlvii. 24, 2) as being in the service of Brutus. But in that case we should have to suppose (1) an error in the premen; (2) that Brutus entrusted C. Antonius to the charge of a man who was under considerable obligations to the Antonii.

iniquos] Cicero occasionally uses this word for *inimicos*: cp. Fam. xi. 27, 7 (784).

DCCCLXXIV. (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 1-3).

ere affirmare de altero, est enim periculosum propter occultas
inum voluntates multiplicesque naturas : Clodii animum per-
tum habeo, cognitum, iudicatum ; multa eius iudicia, sed ad
endum non necessaria, volo enim testimonium hoc tibi videri
us quam epistolam. Auctus Antonii beneficio est—eius ipsius
ficii magna pars a te est— : itaque eum salvis nobis vellet
um. 2. In eum autem locum rem adductam intellegit—est
, ut scis, minime stultus—, ut utrique salvi esse non possint :
ue nos mavult ; de te vero amicissime et loquitur et sentit.
re, si quis secus ad te de eo scripsit aut [si] coram locutus est,
a te etiam atque etiam, mihi ut potius credas, qui et facilius
care possum quam ille nescio quis et te plus diligo. Clodium
amicissimum existima civemque talem, qualis et prudentissi-
et fortuna optima esse debet.

DCCCLXXIV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 1-3).

ROME ; MAY 20 (ABOUT) ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

quinque cohortes misisse in Chersonesum. Adeone copiis abundat, ut is, qui ex Asia fugere dicebatur, Europam appetere conetur? quinque autem cohortibus quidnam se facturum arbitratus est, cum tu eo loco quinque legiones, optimum equitatum, maxima auxilia haberes? quas quidem cohortes spero iam tuas esse, quoniam latro ille tam fuit demens. 2. Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria: itaque, quod scribis postea statuiste te ducere exercitum in Chersonesum nec pati sceleratissimo hosti ludibrio esse imperium populi Romani, facis ex tua dignitate et ex re publica. 3. Quod scribis de seditione, quae facta est in legione quarta fraude C. Antonii—in bonam partem accipies—magis mihi probatur militum severitas quam tua clementia * *

This letter supposes that Brutus has heard of the Battle of Mutina (April 21). Brutus must have received that news about May 7, and his answer may have been in Rome about the 18th or 19th. It took from nine to twelve days for a letter to pass between Rome and Dyrrhachium.

1. *Scripta et obsignata epistola*] Words like these generally introduce a postscript, but not always: cp. Att. v. 19, 1 (220); viii. 6, 1 (337); x. 11, 1 (396), quoted by Meyer (p. 35). However, it shows that the date of 873 is the same as that of this letter.

Chersonesum] This was the regular place of transit from Europe to Asia; and even five cohorts, if strongly posted, could give several legions a great deal of trouble before the position could be secured. Dolabella, however, does not appear to have occupied the Chersonesus.

eo loco] It is impossible that *eo* should mean *ibi* (cp. Schmalz, *Antib.* i⁶. 461), or that the construction could be a pregnant one with an ellipse of *ducendas* or *missas* (Gurlitt) taken out of *missis*. Accordingly we have, with Wesenberg, added *loco*. By *eo loco* Cicero means Europe, not the Chersonese. But perhaps Cobet is right in omitting *eo* altogether, with Oratander.

quinque legiones] Appian (iv. 75) says that Brutus had eight legions; Vell. (ii. 69) that he had seven. The additional three, or two, were probably raised after the departure of Brutus from Dyrrhachium.

2. *Bruti eruptione*] cp. note to 857, 1. *ex re p.*] It is usually *e re p.*, unless *-que* follows the preposition. For *ex re publica* Becher quotes Gell. vi. 3, 47.

3. *in legione quarta*] The fourth legion was in N. Italy, under the command of Octavian. It had gone over to him at the end of 710 (44), cp. Phil. iii. 39, so that there is some corruption in *quarta*. C. F. Hermann's suggestion *quadam* is quite impossible, addressed as the letter is to the commander of the legion in question; but most probably he is right in his correction, *fraude C. Antonii* for *de Catoniis* of the mss: cp. Dio Cass. xlvii. 22 fin., τὰ στρατεύματα στασιασθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρταίου κατεστῆσαν (sc. ὁ Βρούτος). Owing to the plural τὰ στρατεύματα we once thought that the corruption of *quarta* may have arisen from *legionibus* written in uncials, *LEGIONIV* (v for b, as often, and iv being mistaken for a numeral); or that *quarta* took the place of *capta*, and the reference is to one of the legions of Antonius which had surrendered: Dio Cass. xlvii. 21, 7. Madvig (A. C. iii. 198) ingeniously proposes *in legione quarta de cima fraude* C. Antonii. For *de Catoniis* Middleton suggested *C. Antonio*, Orelli *deque Antoniiis*. *in bonam partem accipies*] For Brutus, having shown such indulgence towards C. Antonius, might feel it as a stricture on himself that any conduct of Antonius should be called *fraus*, and would certainly resent any censure of his own conduct.

clementia] Some such word as this

DCCCLXXV. (FAM. XI. 19).

DCCCLXXV. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 19).

VERCELLAE; MAY 21; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus de re publica timet, Vicetinos commendat.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. CICERONI.

. Ad senatum quas litteras misi velim prius perlegas et, si tibi videbuntur, commutes. Necessario me scripsisse ipse advertes: nam cum putarem quartam et Martiam legiones iam futuras, ut Druso Paulloque placuerat vobis adsentientibus, his de reliquis rebus laborandum existimavi. Nunc vero, cum cum tironibus egentissimis, valde et meam et vestram vicem iam necesse est. 2. Vicetini me et M. Brutum praecipue servant. His ne quam patiari iniuriam fieri in senatu vernarum a, a te peto. Causam habent optimam, officium in rem publicum, genus hominum adversariorum seditiosum et iner-

DCCCLXXVI. LEPIDUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 34, §§ 3, 4).

PONS ARGENTEUS; MAY 22; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 63.

Gratias agit Lepidus Ciceroni quod iniquis de se rumoribus non crediderit.

M. LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. M. TULLIO CICERONI.

3. Etsi omni tempore summa studia officii mutuo inter nos certatim constiterunt pro nostra inter nos familiaritate et proinde diligenter ab utroque conservata sunt, tamen non dubito in tanto et tam repentino motu rei publicae quin nonnulla de me falsis rumoribus a meis obtrectatoribus me indigna ad te delata sint, quae tuum animum magno opere moverent pro tuo amore in rem publicam. Ea te moderate accepisse neque temere credendum iudicasse a meis procuratoribus certior sum factus: quae mihi, ut debent, gratissima sunt. Memini enim et illa superiora, quae abs tua voluntate profecta sunt ad meam dignitatem augendam et ornandam, quae perpetuo animo meo fixa manebunt. 4. Abs te, mi Cicero, magno opere peto, si meam vitam, studium diligentissime superioribus temporibus in re publica administranda, quae Lepido digna sunt, perspecta habes, ut paria aut eo ampliora reliquo tempore expectes et proinde tua auctoritate me tuendum existimes, quo tibi plura tuo merito debeo. Vale. D. XI. K. Iun. ex castris, ex Ponte Argenteo.

3. *Etsi . . . conservata sunt*] 'Although there has always existed between us the greatest emulation in kind service in virtue of our mutual friendship, and the practice is just as before scrupulously maintained by both of us': *studio officii* = 'zeal in doing service.' Madvig (A. C. iii. 163) needlessly alters *mutuo* to *mutui*, and Laubinus reads *officiaque mutua*. For the pleonasm *mutuo inter nos*, cp. Lucr. ii. 76, *inter se mortales mutua vivunt* and Munro ad loc.; Liv. viii. 24, 7; xxxvi. 39, 6; Quintil. x. 2, 15.

quae . . . moverent . . . publicam] 'of such a nature as seriously to disturb your mind, loving as you do your country.'

moderate] 'with reserve.' *animo*] Wesenberg adds in, comparing Balb. 66; but *fixa* is found without in sometimes, e.g. Cat. iv. 23 (in many mss); Verg. Aen. iv. 16, *si mihi non animo fixum*

immotumque sederet.

4. *vitam, studium diligentissime*] Laubinus reads *diligentiam* or *diligentiam summam* for *diligentissime*, needlessly: for such an 'asyndeton bimembre' as appears in the mss here is common enough: cp. 882, 6, and Lehmann, p. 25.

quae Lepido digna sunt] 'and they (sc. my life and political activity) are worthy of a Lepidus.' Wesenberg reads *sint*, 'if you have thoroughly seen that my life and political activity are worthy of a Lepidus.'

et proinde . . . debeo] 'and I beg of you to feel that you should lend me the protection of your influence in proportion as I am the more deeply indebted to you by reason of your kindness.' *Proinde*, a word which Lepidus seems to affect (§ 3), is used instead of some ordinary phrase, like *eo magis*.

DCCCLXXVII. (FAM. XI. 20).

DCCCLXXVII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 20).

EPHOREDIA ; MAY 24 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus M. Ciceronem monet, ut veteranorum animos sibi conciliet.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Quod pro me non facio, id pro te facere amor meus in te
que officia cogunt ut timeam. Saepe enim mihi cum esset
um neque a me contemptum, novissime Labeo Segulius, homo
simillimus, narrat mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse multumque
monem de te habitum esse : ipsum Caesarem nihil sane de te
tum nisi dictum quod diceret te dixisse 'laudandum adole-
tem, ornandum, tollendum' : se non esse commissurum ut tolli
et. Hoc ego Labeonem credo illi rettulisse aut finxisse dictum,
ab adolescente prolatum. Veteranos vero pessime loqui vole-
Labeo me credere et tibi ab iis instare periculum, maximeque
gnari, quod in decemviris neque Caesar neque ego habiti esse-

audissem et iam in itinere essem, committendum nondum putavi, prius ut Alpes transgrederer quam quid istie ageretur scirem. Nam de tuo periculo, crede mihi iactatione verborum et denuntiatione periculi sperare eos, te pertimefacto, adolescente impulso, posse magna consequi praemia et totam istam cantilenam ex hoc pendere, ut quam plurimum lucri faciant. Neque tamen non te cautum esse volo et insidias vitantem: nihil enim tua mihi vita potest esse iucundius neque carius. 3. Illud vide, ne timendo magis timere cogare et, quibus rebus potest occurri veteranis, occurras: primum, quod desiderant de decemviris, facias: deinde de praemiis, si tibi videtur, agros eorum militum, qui cum Antonio veterani fuerunt, iis dandos censeas ab utrisque nobis; de nummis lente ac ratione habita pecuniae senatum de ea re constituturum. Quattuor legionibus iis, quibus agros dandos censuistis, video facultatem fore ex agris Sullanis et agro Campano: aequaliter aut

2. *nondum*] This was certainly the reading of the archetype, see Adn. Crit.: and though *non* would be simpler and more Ciceronian, yet D. Brutus may have written *nondum*. Translate 'I did not think I should as yet proceed to cross the Alps before,' &c.

sperare . . . consequi] *posse consequi* = *consecuturos*: *iactatione verborum*, 'by boastful words,' in modern slang 'bluff.'

perimefacto] cp. Pacuvius (302, Ribb.) *triplici pertimefactus maerore animi incerte errans vagat*. Cicero uses *timefacta*, Off. ii. 24.

totam istam cantilenam] 'and that the rhyme attributed to you is altogether based on a desire of getting as much gain as possible,' i.e. they hope that you, when terrified by their threats, will propose that larger grants be made to the soldiers of Octavian than to mine. Brutus wishes it to be understood that he considered Cicero had been injudicious in his language; but that, while being more cautious in the future, he should not exhibit too much fear in the face of the threats of the soldiers of Octavian, and thus give them larger rewards than he gave to the soldiers of Brutus.

3. *occurras*] 'meet the wishes of,' cp. Cluent. 63, *sed ego occurram expectationi vestrae, indices*. We must not carry on *ne* to this clause. We might possibly take *occurras* to mean 'oppose' (cp. Cat. iii. 17, *omnibus eius consiliis occurri atque*

obstiti); but the following clauses lend countenance to the former interpretation.

iis] sc. to the veterans in our armies.

ab utrisque nobis] 'by both of us,' that is, by Octavian and Brutus himself. Cicero would have said *ab utrisque nostrum* (Lael. 16; Sull. 13), as indeed he does say in his answer to this letter, 893, 5.

Quattuor legionibus] These are apparently the soldiers of Octavian, viz. the fourth and Martian legions which had deserted from Antony, and the two legions of veterans which Octavian himself raised.

ex agris Sullanis] These are probably the lands illegally occupied by the *Sullani homines*, i.e. those who (1) either encroached upon state-land which had been confiscated by Sulla, or who (2) bought from soldiers land which had been assigned to them on condition that they should not sell it: see Vol. I², pp. 410, 411. As both these classes of occupants held the land illegally, the state had a right to confiscate it, though prudent statesmen did not proceed to such stringent measures. Schütz thinks that possibly we should read *ex agris Stellatis et Campano*: for the *ager Stellatis* is often mentioned in connexion with the Campanian land (Leg. Agr. i. 20, ii. 85) as suitable for division. Mendelssohn thinks we might perhaps read with M Pal *Silani*. He holds apparently that these now confiscated lands belonged originally to M.

DCCCLXXVIII. (FAM. XI. 23).

te agros legionibus adsignari puto oportere. 4. Haec me tibi
libere non prudentia mea hortatur, sed amor in te et cupiditas
est, quod sine te consistere non potest. Ego, nisi valde necesse
erit, ex Italia non excedam. Legiones armo, paro: spero me
in pessimum exercitum habiturum ad omnes casus et impetus
minum. De exercitu, quem Pansa habuit, legionem mihi
Caesar non remittit. Ad has litteras statim mihi rescribe tuo-
rumque aliquem mitte, si quid reconditum magis erit meque scire
deus esse putaris. VIII. Kal. Iun., Eporedia.

DCCCLXXVIII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 23).

EPOREDIA; MAY 25; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus M. Ciceronem bene de re publica sperare iubet.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

loquuntur. Si frenum momorderis, peream, si te omnes, quot sunt, conantem loqui ferre poterunt. Ego, tibi ut antea scripsi, dum mihi a te litterae veniant, in Italia morabor. VIII. Kal. Iun., Eporedia.

DCCCLXXIX. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 19).

ROME; ABOUT MAY 27; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Planco scribit sibi et senatui gratiarum actionem gratam fuisse et litteris Planci senatum delectatum esse, ut bellum conficiat hortatur.

CICERO PLANCO.

1. Quamquam gratiarum actionem a te non desiderabam, cum te re ipsa atque animo scirem esse gratissimum, tamen—fatendum est enim—fuit ea mihi periucunda. Sic enim vidi, quasi ea, quae oculis cernuntur, me a te amari. Dices, 'quid antea?' Semper equidem, sed numquam illustrius. Litterae tuae mirabiliter gratae sunt senatui, cum rebus ipsis, quae erant gravissimae et maximae,

Si frenum momorderis . . . poterunt] 'If you take the bit between your teeth, may I die if the whole lot of them will be able to withstand you when you attempt to speak.' Brutus likens Cicero to a horse which his opponents are trying to hold in: if he takes the bit between his teeth, that is, if he resists and begins to speak, their efforts will be in vain. For *frenum morderis*, cp. Senec. Tranquill., An. xv. 1 fin, *Desciscat oportet a solilo et offeratur et mordeat frenos et rectorem rapiat eum*: Aesch. Prom. 1009, *δακὼν δὲ στόμιον ὡς νεοφυγὴς Πῶλος βιδεῖ καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μᾶχει*. The phrase is used in a different sense in Statius Silv. i. 2, 28, *subicit leges et frena momordit Ille solutus amor*, 'submits to the bit.' We should have expected that Brutus would have used *coercere*, or some such word instead of *ferre*; but perhaps the intervention of *conantem loqui* led him to drop the metaphor.

in Italia . . . Eporedia] cp. note to 877, 4.

As regards the date, see introd. note to 881.

1. *gratiarum actionem*] 'the giving of thanks.' The reference is to 848, 1.

re ipsa atque animo] 'in very deed and heart.'

Dices 'quid antea?'] 'You will say, "What of the past?"' [i.e. Did you not love me before?] Yes, I did indeed (love you in the past), but never more conspicuously.' It is as hard to analyse the colloquial and elliptical, *Quid antea?* as it is to analyse the English version we have given.

Litterae] 'Your letter is marvellously pleasing to the senate, both in the subjects related, which were most weighty and important, and displayed a very resolute mind and sound judgment, and in the dignity of the sentiments and language.' The letter referred to is probably one addressed to the senate, recounting the same events as 860. That was written on May 13, and allowing thirteen days for it to travel from Culuro to Rome (650 miles about), this letter may have been written as early as May 27.

sunt . . . erant] Perfect accuracy would demand either two present or two past

DCCCLXXX. (FAM. X. 25).

imi animi summique consilii, tum etiam gravitate sententia-
tque verborum. 2. Sed, mi Plance, incumbe, et belli extrema
as: in hoc erit summa et gratia et gloria. Cupio omnia rei
sae causa; sed mehercules in ea conservanda iam defetigatus
multo plus patriae faveo quam tuae gloriae: cuius maximam
atem tibi di immortales, ut spero, dedere: quam complectere,
ro. Qui enim Antonium oppresserit, is hoc bellum taeterri-
periculosissimumque confecerit.

DCCCLXXX. CICERO TO FURNIUS (FAM. X. 25).

ROME; ABOUT MAY 26; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero C. Furnium, qui praeturam petere cupiebat, ne id nimio opere festinet,
r.

CICERO S. D. FURNIO.

Si interest, id quod homines arbitrantur, rei publicae te, ut

laudem consecutus sis: mihi crede, proximam Planco, idque ipsius Planci testimonio, praeterea fama scientiaeque omnium. 2. Quam ob rem si quid operis tibi etiam nunc restat, id maximo opere censeo persequendum. Quid enim honestius aut quid honesto anteponendum? Sin autem satis factum rei publicae putas, celeriter ad comitia, quoniam mature futura sunt, veniendum censeo: dum modo ne [quid] haec ambitiosa festinatio aliquid imminuat eius gloriae, quam consecuti sumus. Multi clarissimi viri, cum rei publicae darent operam, annum petitionis suae non obierunt. Quod eo facilius nobis est, quod non est annus hic tibi destinatus, ut, si aedilis fuisses, post biennium tuus annus esset. Nunc nihil praetermittere videre usitati et quasi legitimi temporis ad petendum. Video autem Planco consule, etsi etiam sine eo rationes expeditas haberes, tamen splendidiorem petitionem tuam, si modo ista ex sententia confecta essent. 3. Omnino plura me scribere, cum tuum tantum consilium iudiciumque sit, non ita necesse arbitrabar, sed tamen sententiam meam tibi ignotam esse nolebam: cuius est haec summa, ut omnia te metiri dignitate malim quam ambitione maioremque fructum ponere in perpetuitate laudis quam in celeritate praeturae. Haec eadem locutus sum domi meae, adhibito Quinto fratre meo et Caecina et Calvisio, studiosissimis

[Planco] This shows that the present letter was probably written about the same time as 879, and that the praise which Cicero bestows on both Plancus and Furnius was for the success of their negotiations with Lepidus, in which Furnius played an important part (848, 3).

2. *mature*] 'soon.'

ambitiosa] 'interested.'

consecuti sumus] Cicero implies that he takes such an interest in Furnius that he too has a share in whatever honour Furnius gains: cp. *nobis* immediately below. We have bracketed *quid* as it is not found in H Pal, and spoils the sentence.

non obierunt] 'have not put in an appearance in the regular year for their canvass,' lit. 'have not gone to meet': cp. Lael. 7, Att. xiii. 14, 1 (827), and the English phrase, 'to meet an engagement.'

Quod . . . esset] Furnius appears to have stood unsuccessfully for the aedileship of 711 (43). Cicero, in urging him to relinquish the canvass for the praetor-

ship of 712 (42), says that, if he had been successful in obtaining the aedileship, he could not have competed for the praetorship for two years, and accordingly 712 (42) would not have been 'his year.' Two years must elapse between aedileship and praetorship; thus Cicero was curule aedile in 685 (69), praetor in 688 (66); and Clodius was curule aedile in 698 (56), praetor in 701 (53): cp. Mommsen St. R.². i. 509-10.

rationes expeditas haberes] 'you had your plans arranged quite independent of him.'

3. *dignitate . . . quam ambitione*] 'love of honour rather than considerations of mere advancement.'

perpetuitate laudis] 'lasting reward of glory.'

Caecina] Orelli considers it uncertain whether this Caecina was Cicero's correspondent (cp. vol. iv. p. xxiii), or his son, who is mentioned as a friend of Octavian's in 797, 2.

Calvisio] If, as Billerbeck and Orelli suppose, this was the Calvisius who had

DCCCLXXXI. (FAM. X. 16).

cum Dardanus, libertus tuus, interesset. Omnibus probari
batur oratio mea, sed tu optime indicabis.

DCCCLXXXI. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 16).

ROME; MAY 27 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

. Cicero gratissimas senatui fuisse L. Planci litteras factumque senatus consultum
am sententiam significat, et ut, ubi facto opus sit, sibi ipse statim consulat neve
is consilium exspectet auctor est.

CICERO PLANCO.

Nihil post hominum memoriam gloriosius, nihil gratius, ne
pore quidem ipso opportunius accidere vidi quam tuas, Plance,
ras. Redditae sunt enim frequenti senatu Cornuto, cum is
das sane et inconstantes recitasset litteras Lepidi. Sub eas
m recitatae sunt tuae non sine magnis quidem clamoribus.

distulit : ego eam sententiam dixi, cui sunt adsensi ad unum. Ea quae fuerit ex senatus consulto cognoscēs. 2. Tu, quamquam consilio non eges vel abundas potius, tamen hoc animo esse debes, ut nihil huc reiicias neve in rebus tam subitis tamque angustis a senatu consilium petendum putes, ipse tibi sis senatus, quocumque te ratio rei publicae ducet, sequare, cures ut ante factum aliquod a te egregium audiamus quam futurum putarimus. Illud tibi promitto, quidquid erit a te factum, id senatum non modo ut fideliter, sed etiam ut sapienter factum comprobaturum.

DCCCLXXXII. L. LENTULUS TO THE SENATE AND MAGISTRATES (FAM. XII. 15, §§ 1-6).

PERGA ; MAY 29 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

P. Lentulus res a se gestas publice memorat, in Rhodios invehitur, de Dolabella grata narrat.

P. LENTULUS P. F. PROQ. PROPR. S. D. COSS. PR. TR. PL.
SENATUI POPULO PLEBIQUE R.

1. S. V. L. V. V. B. E. V. Scelere Dolabellae oppressa Asia in proximam provinciam Macedoniam praesidiaque rei publicae, quae

see the list in Willems *Le Sénat* ii. 141, note 3. He quotes Phil. iii. 13, *Quamobrem, tribuni pl., quamquam eos nihil aliud nisi de praesidio, ut senatum tuto consules Kal. Ian. habere possent, rettulisti* : cp. Phil. vii. 1. For the genitive *plebi*, cp. Neue i². 380.

rem distulit] 'proposed to adjourn the matter.'

ad unum] Wesenberg has inserted *omnes*. He says *ad unum* is always found with *omnes* in prose. Lehmann (p. 82) quotes Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2 (150) *consurrexit senatus cum clamore ad unum sic ut ad corpus eius accederet*. In verse it is not unusual : cp. Ribbeck *Frag. Trag.*, p. 273, *deletionem nostri ad unum exercitus* and Verg. *Aen.* v. 687 *Iupiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum Troianos*.

2. in rebus . . . angustis] 'in such a sudden and pressing crisis.'

huc] 'to Rome.'

putes, ipse] Continue the force of *ut* with *ipse*.

For an account of Lentulus see Introduction. We have dated this letter May 29, as it was written on the same day as 883, though earlier in the day. The postscript § 7 (891) was added a few days later on June 2. There is a detailed and valuable treatise, 'Ueber die Sprache der Briefe des P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther,' by Dr. Albrecht Köhler of Nürnberg (1890), of which we have made considerable use.

PROQ. PROPR.] *Proquaestor* was the title (1) of the quaestor of the previous year who retained his position between the expiration of his own term of office and the arrival of the new quaestor ; (2), of the legate who performed the functions of quaestor in case the latter had become disabled or died, or for any other reason was prevented from performing the duties of quaestor. In virtue of (1) Lentulus was *Proquaestor*. Again, if the governor left his province he usually delegated his powers to the quaestor, who was called

DCCCLXXXII. (FAM. XII. 15, §§ 1-6).

Brutus V. C. tenebat, me contuli et id egi, ut, per quos celer-
possent, Asia provincia vectigaliaque in vestram potestatem
gererentur. Quod cum pertinuisset Dolabella vastata provincia,
ptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis omnibus crude-
ne denudatis ac divenditis, celeriusque Asia excessisset, quam
raesidium adduci potuisset, diutius morari aut expectare
sidium non necesse habui et quam primum ad meum officium
tendum mihi esse existimavi, ut et reliqua vectigalia exigere
nam deposui pecuniam colligerem, quidque ex ea correptum
aut quorum id culpa accidisset cognoscerem quam primum et
de omni re facerem certiores. 2. Interim cum per insulas in
m naviganti mihi nuntiatum esset classem Dolabellae in
a esse Rhodiosque naves complures instructas et paratas in
habere, cum iis navibus, quas aut mecum adduxeram aut
paraverat Patiscus proq., homo mihi cum familiaritate tum
sensibus in re publica coniunctissimus, Rhodum deverti,
sus auctoritate vestra senatusque consulto, quo hostem
bellam iudicaratis, foedere quoque, quod cum iis M. Marcello
Sulpicio *cons.* renovatum erat: quo iuraverant Rhodii eosdem

hostes se habituros, quos S. P. Q. R. Quae res nos vehementer fefellit. Tantum enim afuit, ut illorum praesidio nostram firmaremus classem, ut etiam a Rhodiis urbe, portu, statione, quae extra urbem est, commeatu, aqua denique prohiberentur nostri milites, nos vix ipsi singulis cum navigioliis reciperemur. †Quam indignitatem deminutionemque maiestatis non solum iuris nostri, sed etiam imperii populi que Romani idcirco tulimus, quod interceptis litteris cognoramus Dolabellam, si desperasset de Syria Aegyptoque, quod necesse erat fieri, in naves cum omnibus suis latronibus atque omni pecunia conscendere esse paratum Italiamque petere, idcirco etiam naves onerarias, quarum minor nulla erat duum milium amphorum, contractas in Lycia a classe eius obsideri. 3. Huius rei timore, patres conscripti, percitus iniurias perpeti et cum contumelia etiam nostra omnia prius experiri malui. Itaque ad illorum voluntatem introductus in urbem et in senatum eorum quam diligentissime potui causam rei publicae egi periculumque omne, quod instaret, si ille latro cum suis omnibus naves conscendisset, exposui. Rhodios autem tanta in pravitate animadverti, ut omnes firmiores putarent quam bonos, ut hanc concordiam et conspiracy omnium ordinum ad defendendam

statione] 'roadstead.'

indignitatem . . . maiestatis] We think that possibly *senatus* (written *s.*) or *vestri* may have dropped out after *imperii*, 'insult and slight to the majesty, not only of my position, but also of the authority of the senate and Roman people.' If this seems too bold, we may, perhaps, with Ernesti, suppose that the order of words has become confused, and read *deminutionemque non solum iuris nostri, sed etiam maiestatis imperii que populi Romani*; or else with Orelli omit *que* after *populi*.

duum milium amphorum] For the construction, cp. Caes. B. G. i. 38, 5. *Spatium quod est non amplius pedum sexcentorum*. An amphora held about 5·7 gallons: a vessel of 2000 *amphorae* would be equal to one of about 60 tons. In Liv. xxi. 63, 3, we also find the tonnage of a ship expressed in terms of *amphorae*. The genitive is contracted, as is usual in describing the tonnage of a ship, though sometimes the uncontracted form is used (e.g. Dig. 14, 2, 10, 2). The uncontracted form is always found when the word is used of a fluid measure, according to

Köhler, pp. 15, 16.

contractas] 'collected together in Lycia.' Dolabella appears to have taken them by force from the merchants: cp. § 5.

obsideri] 'were being watched.'

3. *percitus*] a word often used in the Comedies (Plaut. Amph. ii. 2, 95; Cas. iii. 5, 8); also in Liv. vi. 38, 8, quoted by Köhler, p. 38. Dr. Reid and Mr. Clark refuse to read it in Cic. Mil. 63. Dr. Reid says (critical note on that passage) "the word occurs in the old drama and in Sall. Liv., but not in Cicero, Caesar, Nepos, Vergil, Horace, and many other writers. There is an example in Bell. Afr. 46, *ira percitus*: cp. Lucr. 3, 303, *irae fax subdita percit*." *omnia prius experiri*] 'to make every effort to prevent this.'

ad illorum voluntatem] 'in accordance with their wish.'

naves conscendisset] cp. note to 883, 1. *tanta in pravitate*] 'were so utterly perverse.' The *in* is curious; Lambinus omits it. Perhaps we should read *tanta improbitate*, yet cp. 883, 3.

libertatem propense non crederent esse factam, ut patientiam senatus et optimi cuiusque manere etiam nunc confiderent nec potuisse audere quemquam Dolabellam hostem iudicare, ut denique omnia, quae improbi fingebant, magis vera existimarent quam quae vere facta erant et a nobis docebantur. 4. Qua mente etiam ante nostrum adventum post Trebonii indignissimam caedem ceteraque tot tamque nefaria facinora binae profectae erant ad Dolabellam legationes eorum, et quidem novo exemplo, contra leges ipsorum, prohibentibus iis, qui tum magistratus gerebant. Haec sive timore,

propense ['spontaneously,' 'willingly': cp. Liv. xxxviii. 52, 6.

patientiam ['apathy.'

quae . . . docebantur] cp. Caesar B. G. v. 42, 2, *haec a nobis cognoverant et, quos habebant captivos, ab iis docebantur*.

4. *binae*] For *binae*, instead of *duae*, Köhler compares Caesar B. G. i. 53, 5, *trinis catenis vincitus*: cp. note to 890, 3.

contra leges ipsorum] These embassies were sent by the Rhodian senate (*Βουλή*), who, with the people, appear to have adopted the cause of Dolabella; the senate, perhaps, not very willingly, but being overborne by some violent democrats among their number. One or two of these violent anti-Romans appear to have succeeded in being elected among the prytanes: cp. 888, 3, *et nunc aut magistratum gerunt*! But foreign affairs strictly belonged to the discretion of the prytanes, who were the chief magistrates of the state, and not to the senate; so that the latter had no right to take any measures in that department at all, least of all measures which ran counter to the wishes of the prytanes: cp. Mendelssohn Jahrb. 1891, p. 347, note; Gilbert, ii. 178. These prytanes held office for six months. As the Rhodian year began in October, the prytanes in office in June, when this letter was written, were a different body from those who were in office in February, when the embassies were sent to Dolabella. Both sets of prytanes appear to have ostensibly taken the part of the Roman government against Dolabella, while the senate and people of the Rhodians took the opposite side: but the prytanes who were now in office were suspected of favouring the popular side and of being disloyal to the Romans; the loyalty of the late prytanes was unquestioned.

Haec sive timore] We have added <provocati>, after *parte*, as suggested by

Wesenberg. The passage will have a slight anacoluthon, *haec* being left ungoverned; but the length and rush of the sentence will excuse that. If such an anacoluthon is thought impossible, even in Lentulus, we can alter to *hic* with Orelli, or *hac* (sc. *mente*) with Lehmann. We may translate the whole passage: 'These things, whether from fear, as they say, for their lands on the continent, or through madness, or through the tolerance of some few politicians, who both in time past had treated with like insult the most illustrious men, and now do the same to those who hold the highest magistracies, without any precedent or provocation coming from our side—these things, I say, they have refused to help in averting (lit. 'in healing'), though they easily could have done so: I mean the danger to which we are exposed and which would have threatened Italy and our city, if that traitor, with his band of ruffians, when expelled from Asia and Syria, had sailed for Italy.' But the passage still awaits final emendation. Lehmann (pp. 117-120) reads *Qua mente etiam . . . prohibentibus iis qui tum magistratus gerebant, hac* (sc. *mente*) *sive timore . . . sive furore, sive patientia paucorum, qui et antea pari contumelia viros clarissimos adfecerant et nunc maximos magistratus gerentes* (accusative, not nominative) *nullo exemplo neque nostra ex parte <neque ipsorum in sua potestate habent> neque nostro praesentium neque, &c.* For the addition of those or similar words, he argues (1) there must be something to correspond to *nostra ex parte*; (2) in this § Lentulus says, *prohibentibus iis qui tum magistratus gerebant*, while in 883, 3, *eos qui sunt in magistratu in sua habent potestate*: cp. § 5 of this letter, *ipsi magistratus veniebant in suspicionem detinuisse nos, &c.* Though this view is far from final, we

ut dietitant, de agris, quos in continenti habent, sive furore sive patientia paucorum, qui et antea pari contumelia viros clarissimos adfecerant et nunc maximos magistratus gerentes nullo exemplo neque nostra ex parte *protocati* neque nostro praesentium neque imminenti Italiae ubique nostrae periculo, si ille parricida cum suis latronibus navibus ex Asia Syriaque expulsus Italiam petisset, mederi, cum facile possent, voluerunt. 5. Non nullis etiam ipsi magistratus veniebant in suspicionem detinuisse nos et demorati esse, dum classis Dolabellae certior fieret de adventu nostro. Quam suspicionem consecutae res aliquot auxerunt, maxime quod subito ex Lycia Sex. Marius et C. Titius, legati Dolabellae, a classe disoesserunt navique longa profugerunt onerariis relictis, in quibus colligendis non minimum temporis laborisque consumpserant. Itaque cum ab Rhodo cum iis, quas habueramus, navibus in Lyciam venissemus, naves onerarias recepimus dominisque restitimus, iidemque, quod maxime verebamur, ne posset Dolabella cum suis latronibus in Italiam venire, timere desiimus; classem fugientem persecuti sumus usque Sidam, quae extrema regio est provinciae meae. 6. Ibi cognovi partem navium Dolabellae diffugisse, reliquas Syriam Cyprumque petisse. Quibus

cannot help thinking that it is less unsatisfactory than the restoration which Mendelssohn approves, viz. *Hic sive . . . potentia paucorum . . . et nunc maximos magistratus gerunt nullo exemplo [neque] ex nostra parte neque . . . voluerunt.*

de agris quos in continenti habent] cp. Strabo xiv. 651, ἡ τῶν Ποδῶν περὰ. The Rhodian Peraea or Chersonese extended from the Gulf of Glaukos to Mount Phoenix. Its principal towns were Daedala, Kalynda, Kaunos, Physkos, and Phoenix. The Rhodians bought Kaunos for 200 talents either from the generals of Ptolemy Lagus in 309, or from those of Ptolemy Philadelphus in 266: it was especially valuable as a naval station. The government and institutions of the Peraea were virtually the same as those of Rhodes. Probably about the same time as they purchased Kaunos they acquired also the main portion of the Peraea. On such *contributae civitates* cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 33 (30). For *timor de* cp. Fam. xi. 2, 3 (740); 866, 5, and 2 Verr. i. 23.

patientia paucorum] 'by tolerating a

few politicians,' probably members of the senate who were violent democrats. There does not appear to us adequate reason to alter to *potentia* or *impotentia*. If alteration were required we should suggest *potulantia*, 'bullying.'

viros clarissimos] cp. 883, 3.

5. *detinuisse*] For the infinitive, after *in suspicionem venire*, Köhler compares (p. 34) Verr. iv. 30, Phil. i. 15, Fam. ix. 9 (409).

demorati esse] So M. The nominative with infinitive is a Greek rather than a Latin construction, yet is occasionally found, e.g. 901, 1, *malim . . . ipse . . . commendatus esse*: Verg. Aen. ii. 377, *sensit medios delapsus in hostes*: Catull. iv. 2, *Phaesus ille quem videtis, hospites, ait fuisse navium celerissimus*; and Wilkins on Hor. Epp. i. 7, 22; Roby § 1350. H has *demoratus* with *o* written over the *u*.

dominisque restitimus] This shows that Dolabella had taken merchant vessels by force from their owners.

Sidam] in Pamphylia: cp. Fam. iii. 6, 1 (213). For *usque* cp. Att. xv. 29, 2 (768).

provinciae meae] sc. Asia.

DCCCLXXXIII. (FAM. XII. 14).

etis, cum scirem C. Cassii, singularis civis et ducis, classem
mam fore praesto in Syria, ad meum officium reverti,
que operam, ut meum studium et diligentiam vobis, patres
scripti, rei publicae praestem, pecuniamque quam maximam
ro et quam celerrime cogam omnibusque rationibus ad vos
am. Si percurrero provinciam et cognovero qui nobis et rei
cauae fidem praestiterunt in conservanda pecunia a me deposita
ue scelere ultro deferentes pecuniam publicam hoc munere
tatem facinorum cum Dolabella inierunt, faciam vos certiores.
quibus, si vobis videbitur, si, ut meriti sunt, graviter consti-
tis nosque vestra auctoritate firmaveritis, facilius et reliqua
re vectigalia et exacta servare poterimus. Interea quo com-
us vectigalia tueri provinciamque ab iniuria defendere
m, praesidium voluntarium necessariumque comparavi.

DCCCLXXXIII. LENTULUS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 14).

PERGA ; MAY 29 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

colligerem et pecuniam quam primum Romam mitterem. Interim cognovi in Lycia esse classem Dolabellae ampliusque centum naves onerarias, in quas exercitus eius imponi posset, idque Dolabellam ea mente comparasse, ut, si Syriae spes eum frustrata esset, conscenderet in naves et Italiam peteret seque cum Antoniis et reliquis latronibus coniungeret. Cuius rei tanto in timore fui, ut omnibus rebus relictis cum paucioribus et minoribus navibus ad illas ire conatus sim. 2. Quae res, si a Rhodiis non essem interpellatus, fortasse tota sublata esset: tamen magna ex parte profligata est, quoniam quidem classis dissipata est adventus nostri timore, milites ducesque effugerunt, onerariae omnes ad unam a nobis sunt exceptae. Certe, quod maxime timui, videor esse consecutus, ut non possit Dolabella in Italiam pervenire nec suis sociis firmatis durius vobis efficere negotium. 3. Rhodii nos et rem publicam quam valde desperaverint ex litteris, quas publice misi, cognosces. Et quidem multo parcius scripsi, quam re vera furere eos inveni: quod vero aliquid de iis scripsi, mirari noli: mira est eorum amentia. Nec moverunt me meae ullae privatim iniuriae umquam: malus animus

This is a private letter to Cicero, but of much the same tenor as 882.

1. *ut . . . colligerem*] 'to finish what remained of my tax-collecting business.' For *reliquias*, cp. Fam. xiii. 66, 2 (506), *oro ut eum in reliquiis veteris negotiationis colligendis iuves*.

in quas . . . posset] 'for his army to be embarked in.'

idque] The neuter though referring to *classis* and *navis*, cp. Dräger i. § 112 and Caes. B. G. i. 44, 5.

spes eum frustrata esset] cp. Ter. Andr. ii. 3, 37; Adelph. iv. 4, 13; Sall. Jug. 101, 3. It is a stronger expression than *spes me fallit* and, perhaps, a little less polished. It is not found in the orations of Cicero, nor in Caesar nor Nepos. *Frustror* can be used both as a deponent and passive verb: cp. Köhler, p. 39.

conscenderet in naves] cp. 882, 2, but *naves conscendisset* 882, 3. Köhler (p. 25) says that if *naves* precedes *conscendere* immediately, or is separated only by a kindred word, the preposition is usually omitted: otherwise the preposition is used.

latronibus] 'rebels.'

2. *interpellatus*] 'obstructed,' 'hindered': cp. 854, 1.

nec . . . efficere negotium] 'nor by strengthening his allies cause you a more serious trouble.' For *durius*, cp. 861, 2, *ut si durius aliquid esset succurrere celeriter possem*.

3. *Rhodii . . . cognosces*] 'From the official letter I am sending, you will understand in what a marked way the Rhodians have shown that they consider that we and the state have no chance.'

Et quidem . . . amentia] The words from *quam re vera . . . scripsi* are not found in M; but as they appear in H Pal, make excellent sense, and might easily have fallen out, *ex homoeoteleuto*, they have been unhesitatingly adopted by recent edd.

moverunt] Wesenberg adds this word from an old correction: it appears in the margin of M by a second hand. Possibly, however, the corruption lies in *unquam*; and we should omit *me* and read *tam* (sc. *ferendas mihi non sunt*), *quam malus animus*: cp. for this use of *tam quam* Plaut. Mil. iv. 7, 26; *tam quam hoc uterer = tam (illo oculo uterer) quam hoc uterer*.

ullae privatim iniuriae] For adverbs used adjectively, cp. Roby § 1020, 6; Dräger, § 79.

DCCCLXXXIII. (FAM. XII. 14).

in nostra salute, cupiditas partium aliarum, perseverantia in
emptione optimi cuiusque ferenda mihi non fuit. Nec tamen
s perditos esse puto, sed iidem illi, qui tum fugientem patrem
n, qui L. Lentulum, qui Pompeium, qui ceteros viros clar-
os non receperunt, iidem tamquam aliquo fato et nunc aut
stratum gerunt aut eos, qui sunt in magistratu, in sua habent
tate. Itaque eadem superbia in pravitate utuntur. Quorum
obitatem aliquando retundi et non pati impunitate augeri non
utile est rei publicae nostrae, sed etiam necessarium. 4. De
a dignitate velim tibi ut semper curae sit et, quocumque
ore occasionem habueris, et in senatu et ceteris rebus laudi
ae suffragere. Quoniam consulibus decreta est Asia et
ssum est iis, ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent negotium, qui
n obtineant, rogo te, petas ab iis, ut hanc dignitatem pot-
um nobis tribuant et mihi dent negotium, ut Asiam obtin-
dum ipsorum alter uter venit. Nam quod hoc properent
magistratu venire aut exercitum mittere causam non habent.
bella enim in Syria est, et, ut tu divina tua mente prospexisti
edicasti, dum isti veniunt, Cassius eum opprimet. Exclusus

sustinere. Spero etiam confectum esse iam et oppressum Dolabellam. 5. Qua re non puto Pansam et Hirtium in consulatu properaturos in provincias exire, sed Romae acturos consulatum. Itaque, si ab iis petieris, ut interea nobis procurationem Asiae dent, spero te posse impetrare. Praeterea mihi promiserunt Pansa et Hirtius coram et absenti mihi scripserunt Verrioque nostro Pansa adfirmavit se daturum operam, ne in suo consulatu mihi succedatur. Ego porro non me dius fidius cupiditate provinciae produci longius spatium mihi volo: nam mihi fuit ista provincia plena laboris, periculi, detrimenti: quae ego ne frustra subierim nive prius, quam reliquias meae diligentiae consequar, decedere cogar, valde laboro. Nam si potuissem quam exegeram pecuniam universam mittere, postularem, ut mihi succederetur: nunc, quod Cassio dedi, quod Trebonii morte amisimus, quod etiam crudelitate Dolabellae aut perfidia eorum, qui fidem mihi reique publicae non praestiterunt, id consequi et reficere volo: quod aliter non potest fieri, nisi spatium habuero. Id ut per te consequar, velim, ut solet, tibi curae sit. 6. Ego me de re publica puto esse meritum, ut non provinciae istius beneficium exspectare debeam, sed tantum, quantum Cassius et Bruti, non solum illius facti periculique societate, sed etiam huius temporis studio et virtute. Primus enim ego leges Antonias fregi, primus equitatum Dolabellae ad rem

Dolabellam] Lamb. brackets *Dolabellam*, but Köhler (p. 13) thinks it should be retained as *Lentulus* is given to harping on the same word, especially when he wishes to make that word, as he does here, the dominant word in the sentence.

5. *spero te posse impetrare*] 'I hope that you have the power to gain your request,' not 'that you *will* be able.'

Verrioque] Possibly the *Verrius* mentioned in *Fam.* ix. 20, 2 (475) as a man, *qua munditia! qua elegantia*: cp. ix. 26, 1 (479).

nive] So M. For this form, instead of *neve*, cp. *Neue* ii³. 969.

quam . . . consequar] 'before I finish what remains of my revenue work.'

id consequi et reficere] 'to obtain and get in.' For this sense of *reficere* cp. *Parad.* 45.

nisi] *Ernesti* and *Köhler* (p. 36) read *nisi* <si>. No doubt *nisi* is rare after *aliter*, but it is found in *Sallust*, *Hist.* i.

41, 17, *non aliter salvi eritis nisi . . . prodegerint*: cp. also § 24 of that chapter, and *Liv.* xxxii. 38, 3, quoted by *Schmals*, *Antib.* i. 539.

6. *Ego . . . virtute*] 'I think that I have deserved sufficiently well of the republic to justify my expecting not merely the grant of this province as a favour, but the grant of as much as *Cassius* and the two *Bruti* have obtained [i.e. provinces, arms, and honours], as well on account of my share in that dangerous deed of daring as of the spirit and valour which I have shown at this time.' For the part *Lentulus* took on the occasion of *Caesar's* assassination cp. *Introd.* After *Cassius et Bruti* we must understand something like *adepti sunt* taken out of *exspectare*.

Primus . . . fregi] We do not know to what *Lentulus* is alluding; perhaps he treated as null several of the immunities which *Antony* sold to states and individuals in Asia: cp. *Dio. Cass.* xlii. 53, 3.

DCCCLXXXIII. (FAM. XII. 14).

eam traduxi Cassioque tradidi, primus dilectus habui pro
e omnium contra coniurationem sceleratissimam, solus Cassio
publicae Syriam exercitusque, qui ibi erant, coniunxi. Nam
ego tantam pecuniam tantaque praesidia et tam celeriter
o dedissem, ne ausus quidem esset ire in Syriam et nunc non
ra pericula rei publicae a Dolabella instarent quam ab Antonio.
que haec omnia is feci, qui sodalis et familiarissimus Dola-
eram, coniunctissimus sanguine Antoniis, provinciam quoque
m beneficio habebam sed *παρτίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶν* omnibus
bellum primus indixi. Haec etsi adhuc non magno opere
tulisse fructum animadverto, tamen non despero nec defeti-
r permanere non solum in studio libertatis, sed etiam in labore
riculis. At tamen, si etiam aliqua gloria iusta et merita
cabimur senatus et optimi cuiusque officiis, maiore cum
ritate apud ceteros erimus et eo plus prodesse rei publicae
imus. 8. Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non
ideo quod iam in hiberna cum equitibus erat profectus, sed
us fidius ea esse eum opinione et tua et ipsius et in primis
causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus
dignus est. Vale. D. iv. Kal. Iun., Pergae.

DCCCLXXXIV. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 20).

ROME; MAY 29; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Plancum interrogat, utrum Lepidus rem publicam sequatur an M. Antonium, hortaturque, ut bellum conficiat.

CICERO PLANCO.

1. Ita erant omnia, quae istim adferebantur, incerta ut quid ad te scriberem non occurreret. Modo enim quae vellemus de Lepido, modo contra nuntiabantur: de te tamen fama constans, nec decipi posse nec vinci: quorum alterius fortuna partem habet quamdam, alterum proprium est prudentiae tuae. 2. Sed accepi litteras a collega tuo, datas Idibus Maiis, in quibus erat te ad se scripsisse a Lepido non recipi Antonium: quod erit certius, si tu ad nos idem scripseris, sed minus audes fortasse propter inanem laetitiam litterarum superiorum. Verum, ut errare, mi Plance, potuisti—quis enim id effugerit?—, sic decipi te non potuisse quis non videt? Nunc vero etiam [iam] erroris causa sublata est. Culpa enim illa, 'bis ad eundem' vulgari reprehensa proverbio est. Sin, ut scripsisti ad collegam, ita se res habet, omni cura liberati sumus, nec tamen erimus prius quam ita esse tu nos feceris certiores. 3. Mea quidem, ut ad te saepius scripsi, haec sententia est: qui reliquias huius belli oppresserit, eum totius belli confectorem fore, quem te et opto esse et confido futurum. Studia

1. *Modo . . . nuntiabantur*] On the very day on which Cicero wrote this letter, Lepidus deserted the Republic and joined Antony.

de te] Baiter thinks that *de* should probably be omitted before *te*, or *te* added before *decipi*. Gitlbauer (p. 97) supposes that *nuntiabantur de* is a mistake for *denuntiabantur*. But the anticipatory *de* is quite allowable: cp. 883, 4.

alterius] sc. *nec vinci posse: alterum, sc. nec decipi posse*.

2. *collega tuo*] D. Brutus: cp. 905, 1. *litterarum superiorum*] 'on account of the unfounded good news contained in your former letter.' In 860, 1, 2 (written May 13) Plancus expresses an

opinion that Lepidus will join with him, and prove loyal; while in 861 (written May 14) he notices that he was mistaken.

'bis ad eundem'] sc. *offendere lapidem turpe est*. The proverb is a Greek one *δὲς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχροὺς εἰσπρόβειν λίθον* (Koch, Frag. adespot. 391). Otto (p. 186) quotes Ovid. Trist. ii. 16, *Saxa malum refero rursus ad icta pedem*; Ausonius Epist. 11, *tu ut tua culpa ad eundem lapidem offenderes*.

3. *qui . . . fore*] cp. 863, 2, *is bellum confecerit qui Antonium oppresserit*.

quem . . . futurum] 'I pray that you are the man; I am confident that you will be.'

DCCCLXXXV. (FAM. X. 35).

erga te, quibus certe nulla esse maiora potuerunt, tibi tam
a esse quam ego putavi fore, minime miror vehementerque
or. Quae quidem tu, si recte istie erit, maiora et graviora
nosces. 1v. Kalendas Iunias.

DCCCLXXXV. LEPIDUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 35).

NS ARGENTEUS; MAY 30; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Lepidus recepti M. Antonii causam in milites suos confert, dissensionem civium
e ferentes.

LEPIDUS IMP. ITER PONT. MAX. S. D. PR. TR. PL. S. P. PL. Q. R.

l. S. V. liberique vestri V. B. E. E. Q. V. Deos hominesque
or, patres conscripti, qua mente et quo animo semper in rem
olicam fuerim et quam nihil antiquius communi saluti ac
rtate iudicarim: quod vobis brevi probassem, nisi mihi fortuna
prium consilium extorsisset. Nam exercitus cunctus consuetu-
am suam in civibus conservandis communique pace, seditione

2. In qua re ego vos, patres conscripti, oro atque obsecro, ut privatis offensionibus omissis summa rei publicae consulatis neve misericordiam nostram exercitusque nostri in civili dissensione sceleris loco ponatis. Quod si salutis omnium ac dignitatis rationem habueritis, melius et vobis et rei publicae consulētis. Data III. Kal. Iunias a Ponte Argenteo.

DCCCLXXXVI. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 14).

ROME; END OF MAY; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruti litteris respondet de decemviris, de legionibus perducendis, de pecunia, de hominum admiratione de bello renovato, quod ut conficiat D. Brutum hortatur.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DESIG. S. D.

1. Mirabiliter, mi Brute, laetor mea consilia measque sententias a te probari de decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Sed quid refert? Mihi crede, homini non glorioso: plane iam, Brute, frigeo: ὄργανον enim erat meum senatus; id iam est dissolutum. Tantam spem attulerat exploratae victoriae tua praeclara Mutina eruptio, fuga Antonii conciso exercitu, ut omnium animi relaxati sint

2. *privatis*] possibly an allusion to the hostility of Cicero and Antony.

dignitatis] A hint that the decrees of outlawry passed on Antony should be rescinded.

[*iii. Kal.*] So the mss. Probably Lepidus did not write this letter until the day after he joined Antony. Ruete (p. 54) alters to *iiii. Kal.*

This letter is probably an answer to 875 (cp. § 2 with 875, 1) and to 869. It was written about the same time as 884, for both in this letter (§ 3) and in 884, 2, mention is made of a despatch from D. Brutus of May 15th. That Cicero makes no mention of the march of Brutus on Pollentia is due to the fact that it was well known at Rome that Brutus had been out-maneuvred by Antony, whose movement on Pollentia was a mere feint.

1. *de decemviris*] This refers to a proposal to elect a Committee of Ten to

investigate the acts of Antony during his consulship, and especially the use he had made of Caesar's memoranda. The Committee was appointed immediately after the news arrived of the union of Plancus and Brutus: cp. App. B. C. iii. 82.

plane iam, Brute, frigeo] 'I am now, Brutus, quite torpid' (with inaction): cp. Fam. viii. 6, 3, 5 (242), *Curioni nostro tribunatus conglaciat . . . Curionem valde frigere*.

Tantam . . . videantur] If the text is sound, and if we do not adopt *attulerunt* with Ernesti, we must translate, 'your glorious sally at Mutina, and the flight of Antony after his army was cut to pieces, suddenly brought to us such a certain expectation of assured victory that the spirits of all are now unstrung, and all those violent harangues of mine seem like beatings of the air.' For the use of the pluperfect, expressing sudden action, cp. Verg. Aen. iv. 686, viii. 219. The

DCCCLXXXVI. (FAM. XI. 14).

que illae vehementes contentiones tamquam *σκιμαχίαι* esse
antur. 2. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, legionem Martiam et
tam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla condicione ad se posse
uci. Pecuniae, quam desideras, ratio potest haberi eaque
bitur. De Bruto arcessendo Caesareque ad Italiae praesidium
ndo valde tibi adsentior. Sed, ut scribis, habes obtrectatores:
equidem facillime sustineo, sed impediunt tamen. Ex Africa
nes exspectantur. 3. Sed bellum istuc renatum mirantur
ines. Nihil tam praeter spem umquam. Nam die tuo natali
ria nuntiata in multa saecula videbamus rem publicam
atam. Hi novi timores retexunt superiora. Scripsisti autem
ne iis, quas Idibus Maiis dedisti, modo te accepisse a Planco
ras, non recipi Antonium a Lepido. Id si ita est, omnia
iora: sin aliter, magnum negotium, cuius exitum non exti-
o: tuae partes sunt. Ego plus quam feci facere non possum.
amen, id quod spero, omnium maximum et clarissimum videre
o.

ution, *sint* . . . *videantur*, after the
fect, is to be explained by the fact
he actions represented by those verbs

sustineo] 'withstand': cp. Caes. B.G.
i. 24, 1; Liv. xxxi. 13, 4; Ovid. Met.
xix. 788.

DCCCLXXXVII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 8).

ROME ; END OF MAY, OR JUNE (?) ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero C. Nasennium, municipem Suessanum, Bruto commendat.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Multos tibi commendabo et commendem necesse est—optimus enim quisque vir et civis maxime sequitur tuum iudicium tibi que omnes fortes viri navare operam et studium volunt nec quisquam est, quin ita existimet, meam apud te et auctoritatem et gratiam valere plurimum—2. sed C. Nasennium, municipem Suessanum, tibi ita commendo, ut neminem diligentius. *Is* Cretensi bello Metello imperatore octavum principem duxit ; postea in re familiari occupatus fuit : hoc tempore cum rei publicae partibus, tum tua excellenti dignitate commotus vult per te aliquid auctoritatis assumere. Fortem virum, Brute, tibi commendo, frugi hominem et, si quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem : pergratum mihi erit, si eum ita tractaris, ut merito tuo mihi gratias agere possit.

The date of this letter is quite uncertain, and can be guessed at only from the position which the latter has in the collection.

1. *sequitur tuum iudicium*] i.e. approves of the part you take in politics.

navare operam et studium] 'to be industrious and enthusiastic on your behalf.'

2. *C. Nasennium*] The name is not infrequently found in inscriptions: cp. Wilmanns, 96, 1749.

Cretensi bello] Quintus Metellus, as proconsul 686–688 (68–66), subdued Crete, and obtained the surname of

Creticus for his success. Cn. Plancius, whom Cicero defended, also served in this war: cp. Planc. 27.

octavum principem duxit] i.e. *ordinem*. He was the forty-third centurion of the legion. For the order of centurions cp. Diet. of Antiquities, i³, p. 800.

rei p. partibus] 'party divisions in the state.'

locupletem] cp. the letter recommending L. Castronius Paetus to M. Brutus, Fam. xiii. 13 (454), *tum etiam fortuna, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet, ornatus*. A man with money was always welcome to the philosophic M. Brutus.

DCCCLXXXVIII. (FAM. XI. 16).

CLXXXVIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 16).

ROME; MAY OR JUNE; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto commendat Lamiam in petitione praeturae.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DES. S. D.

Permagni interest, quo tibi haec tempore epistola reddita-
trum cum sollicitudinis aliquid haberes an cum ab omni
stia vacuus esses. Itaque ei praecepi, quem ad te misi, ut
us observaret epistolae tibi reddendae. Nam quem ad modum
n, qui ad nos intempestive adeunt, molesti saepe sunt, sic
blae offendunt non loco redditae. Si autem, ut spero, nihil
rturbat, nihil impedit, et ille, cui mandavi, satis scite et com-
tempus ad te cepit adeundi, confido me quod velim facile a-
petraturum. 2. L. Lamia praeturam petit. Hoc ego utor
omnium plurimum. Magna vetustas, magna consuetudo

consule relegatus est : quod ante id tempus civi Romano Romae contigit nemini. Hoc cum populus Romanus meminit, me ipsum non meminisse turpissimum est. 3. Quapropter persuade tibi, mi Brute, me petere praeturam. Quamquam enim Lamia summo splendore, summa gratia est, magnificentissimo munere aedilicio, tamen, quasi ea ita non essent, ego suscepi totum negotium. Nuno, si me tanti facis, quanti certe facis, quoniam equitum centurias tenes, in quis regnas, mitte ad Lupum nostrum, ut is nobis eas centurias conficiat. Non tenebo te pluribus : ponam in extremo quod sentio : nihil est, Brute, cum omnia a te exspectem, quod mihi gratius facere possis.

DCCCLXXXIX. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 17).

ROME ; MAY OR JUNE ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto iterum commendat Lamiam, paulo, ut videtur, post superiorem epistolam.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO S. D.

1. L. Lamia uno omnium familiarissime utor. Magna eius in me, non dico officia, sed merita, eaque sunt populo Romano

orum. The first *decurio* of the first *turma* was called *princeps equitum Romanorum* or *equestri ordinis*. This officer was called *princeps iuventutis* under the empire, and the post was held by the heir to the throne (cp. Mommsen, *Res gestae* d. Aug. p. 56 ; R. H. ii. p. 320, note). In *Petit Cons.* 33 (12) we saw that the *equites* were mostly young men.

relegatus est] The punishment of *relegatio* was merely banishment from Rome without loss of civil status. It was inflicted either by an act of the people or by a decree of the senate. During the empire it could also be inflicted by a magistrate's edict, but the republican magistrates had no such rights. *Relegatio* was a much less severe punishment than *exsilium*, which involved loss of civil status : cp. Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 137, *Quippe relegatus non exul dicor in illo* (sc. *edicto*), and Justinian's *Institutes*, i. 12, 1-3 ; also Festus 278, and Holden on *Sest.* 29.

Romae] This appears to mean that Lamia was the first Roman citizen who was relegated for a deed committed at Rome : those who had been previously relegated had committed crimes elsewhere. Cicero does not mention this exceptional feature of the *relegatio* of Lamia in the other passages quoted above. Graevius thinks that *Romae* should be ejected as having arisen from *Romano*.

3. *regnas*] 'your power is absolute' : cp. *regnum suum iudiciale*, Att. i. 1, 1 (10). *conficiat*] 'secure' : cp. *Petit. Cons.* 18 (12) *ad conficiendas centurias*, Planc. 45, *conficere tribum* ; Ter. Eun. v. 4, 6, *virginem, quam amabat, eam confeci*.

Some editors suppose that this letter was addressed to Marcus Brutus, because it was unlikely that Cicero would have written twice to Decimus Brutus on the same subject. However, all the mss agree in addressing it to D. Brutus. It is quite

DCCCXC. (FAM. X. 33).

ssima. Is magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis perfunctus
t praeturam, omnesque intellegunt nec dignitatem ei deesse
gratiam. Sed is ambitus excitari videtur, ut ego omnia perti-
cam totamque petitionem Lamiae mihi sustinendam putem.
In ea re quantum me possis adiuuvare facile perspicio, nec vero
ntum mea causa velis dubito. Velim igitur, mi Brute, tibi
quadeas nihil me maiore studio a te petere, nihil te mihi gratius
re posse quam si omnibus tuis opibus, omni studio Lamiam in
tione iuveris: quod ut facias, vehementer te rogo.

DCCCXC. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (FAM. X. 33).

CORDUBA; END OF MAY; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

ollio calamitatem rei publicae deplorat proelio Mutinensi acceptam, seque communi
dio occurrere paratum ostendit.

POLLIO CICERONI S. P.

possunt neque mederi. Atque utinam eodem senatus consulto, quo Plancum et Lepidum in Italiam arcessistis, me quoque iussissetis venire! profecto non accepisset res publica hoc vulnus. Quo si qui laetantur in praesentia, quia videntur et duces et veterani Caesaris partium interisse, tamen postmodo necesse est doleant, cum vastitatem Italiae respexerint. Nam et robur et suboles militum interiit, si quidem quae nuntiantur ulla ex parte vera sunt. 2. Neque ego non videbam quanto usui rei publicae essem futurus, si ad Lepidum venissem: omnem enim cunctationem eius discussissem, praesertim adiutore Planco. Sed scribenti ad me eius modi litteras, quas leges, et contionibus videlicet, quas Narbone habuisse dicitur, similes, palparer plane necesse erat, si vellem commeatus per provinciam eius iter faciens habere. Praeterea verebar ne, si ante, quam ego incepta perficerem, proelium confectum esset, pium consilium meum raperent in contrariam partem obtrectatores mei propter amicitiam, quae mihi cum Antonio, non maior tamen quam Planco, fuit. 3. Itaque a Gadibus mense Aprili binis tabellariis in duas naves impositis et tibi et consulibus et Octaviano scripsi, ut me faceretis certiore quonam modo plurimum possem prodesse rei publicae. Sed, ut rationem in eo, quo die proelium Pansa commisit, eodem a Gadibus naves profectae sunt: nulla enim post hiemem fuit ante eam diem

ing to Friedländer; but it cannot bear that meaning here. Perhaps it is used in a corrective sense, 'I mean (*sed*) for those who can do nothing': cp. Orat. 97, *hic est enim cuius ornatum dicendi et copiam admiratae gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passae sunt, sed hanc eloquentiam quae cursu magno sonituque ferretur*.

Caesaris partium] cp. 840, 5, *ne animi partium Caesaris . . . vehementer commoverentur*; Phil. v. 32, *Caesaris partes*, quoted by Mendelssohn. Accordingly, Göttsch's transposition of *partium* to follow *duces* is unnecessary.

vastitatem Italiae] Schmalz notices that this would appear to be a kind of fixed and recognized expression in Latin: cp. Cic. Cat. i. 29; iv. 2, 13; Sull. 33; Sest. 12; Phil. ii. 17; Att. ix. 10, 3 (365); Fam. x. 5, 4 (810); Sall. Jug. 5, 2; Liv. xxi. 22, 9.

et robur et suboles militum] 'the flower and blossom of the soldiers,' i.e. the

legionaries and recruits.

2. *discussissem*] 'I would have dispelled.'

palparer] lit. 'stroke down,' 'soften down.' The word is often used by Plautus: e.g. Amph. i. 3, 9; Mil. ii. 1, 28; but not by Cicero. For the dative cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 20, *cui male si palpare recalcitrat undique latus*. See Adn. Crit.

confectum . . . consilium . . . contrariam] For the alliteration, cp. 824, 4.

raperent in contrariam partem] 'misrepresent': cp. Ter. Adelph. Prol. 3, *raperent in peiorem partem*; Eun. iv. 2, 4; Plaut. Trin. iii. 2, 54.

3. *binis . . . in duas naves*] It is uncertain whether *binis* is here distributive, 'two into each ship,' or whether it simply = *duobus*. Schmalz (p. 38) thinks that the latter is the correct view, comparing 882, 4.

quo die] The Battle of Forum Gallorum was fought on April 15.

ante eam diem] Baiter wrongly alters

DCCCXC. (FAM. X. 33).

gatio. Et hercules longe remotus ab omni suspicione futuri
is tumultus penitus in Lusitania legiones in hibernis collo-
m. Ita porro festinavit uterque configere, tamquam nihil
s timerent quam ne sine maximo rei publicae detrimento
um componeretur. Sed, si properandum fuit, nihil non summi
s consilio gessisse Hirtium video. 4. Nunc haec mihi scri-
tur ex Gallia Lepidi et nuntiantur: Pansae exercitum concisum
: Pansam ex vulneribus mortuum: eodem proelio Martiam
onem interisse et L. Fabatum et C. Peducaeam et D. Carfu-
m: Hirtino autem proelio et quartam legionem et omnes
eque Antonii caesas, item Hirtii; quartam vero, cum castra
que Antonii cepisset, a quinta legione concisam esse: ibi
ium quoque perisse et Pontium Aquilam: dici etiam Octavi-

n. With *ante, ad, post, ex*, the word
s feminine: cp. Neue *ſ*. 685 and Att.
, 1 (204); Q. Fr. ii. 5, 4 (106);
viii. 9, 2 (211), quoted by Schmalz
uri civilis tumultus] 'of the civil
bance which was about to arise.'
stinavit uterque . . . timerent] For
lar and plural used after *uterque* cp.

ex vulneribus] cp. Liv. xxvii. 33, 6,
ex vulnere moritur. Cicero says, Att. v.
20, 3 (228), *vulnus accepit eoque moritur*.
L. Fabatum] In Att. viii. 12, 2 (345),
we hear of this L. Roscius Fabatus as
having, in company with L. Caesar,
brought terms of peace from Julius Caesar
to Pompey. We do not hear of C. Pedu-
caeus elsewhere: he is not the Sext.

anum cecidisse—quae si, quod di prohibeant! vera sunt, non mediocriter doleo:—Antonium turpiter Mutinae obsessionem reliquisse, sed habere equitum \overline{V} . legiones sub signis armatas tres et \overline{p} pupilli Bagienni unam, inermes bene multos: Ventidium quoque se cum legione septima, octava, nona coniunxisse: si nihil in Lepido spei sit, descensurum ad extrema et non modo nationes, sed etiam servitia concitaturum: Parmam direptam: L. Antonium Alpes occupasse. 5. Quae si vera sunt, nemini nostrum cessandum est nec exspectandum quid decernat senatus. Res enim cogit huic tanto incendio succurrere omnes, qui aut imperium aut nomen denique populi Romani salvum volunt esse. Brutum enim cohortes XVII., et duas non frequentes tironum legiones, quas conscripserat Antonius, habere audio. Neque tamen dubito quin omnes, qui supersint de Hirtii exercitu, confluant ad eum. Nam in dilectu non multum spei puto esse, praesertim cum nihil sit periculosius quam spatium confirmandi sese Antonio dari. Anni autem tempus libertatem maiorem mihi dat, propterea quia frumenta aut in agris aut in villis sunt. Itaque proximis litteris consilium meum expeditur: nam neque deesse neque superesse

40). After his death the senate bestowed honours on him, as well as on Pansa, Hirtius, and others; and repaid to his heirs the money he had lent D. Brutus.

equitum \overline{V} .] = *quinque millia*. So Manutius fills up the number which is omitted in the mss.

pupilli Bagienni] O. E. Schmidt (Philologus, vol. 51, 1892, pp. 186–188) has a valuable note on this name. He considers that Bagiennus is almost certainly the name of the nationality of the commander of the legion. The Bagienni lived between the source of the Po and the Maritime Alps. Doubtless Antony raised recruits there, as Caesar raised the Alauda legion in Gaul. Antony's movement on Pollentia in May, 711 (43), which caused D. Brutus to march from Aquae Statiellae past Pollentia, northwards, to Vercellae and Eporedia (855, 859, 875, 877, 878), had, perhaps, the design of saving the land of the Bagienni from the vengeance of D. Brutus. Possibly *pupilli* is a corruption of *Publii*, as Mendelssohn suggests, comparing Fam. xiii. 14, 1 (455); but we should rather expect a Roman gentile name like *Popillii*, as Gardthausen

suggests: cp. the Atrebatian Commius in Caes. B. G. iv. 21. Or possibly *pupilli* stands for *populi*, or *popelli*.

legione] When *legio* is joined with several ordinals, Cicero uses sometimes the singular, and sometimes the plural. Livy and Velleius always use the singular (Schmalz, p. 16).

descensurum ad extrema] 'he will have recourse to the most desperate expedients.'

direptam] i.e. by L. Antonius.

5. *frequentes*] 'full.' We cannot find another example of *frequens* used with *legio*. The converse term is *exilis*, Att. v. 15, 1 (207).

libertatem] 'freedom of action.' Pollio means that he will not be so entirely dependent on the favour of Lepidus, in order to procure provisions for his army.

proximis litteris] This promise was fulfilled in 896, written on June 8. As this letter was written at least forty days after the Battle of Mutina (April 21), its date is the end of May.

expeditur] 'will be set forth': cp. 914, 1; Sall. Jug. 5, 3.

superesse] = *superstitum esse*: cp. Gell. i. 22, 19, *Praeter haec superesse invenimus*

DCCCXCI. (FAM. XII. 15, § 7).

publicae volo. Maxime tamen doleo adeo et longo et infesto
re ad me veniri, ut die quadragensimo post aut ultra etiam,
n facta sunt, omnia nuntientur.

**DCCCXCI. LENTULUS TO THE SENATE AND
MAGISTRATES (FAM. XII. 15, § 7).
(POSTSCRIPT TO 882).**

Litteris (882) iam scriptis nuntios de Dolabella recens allatos addit Lentulus.

PERGA; JUNE 2; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

7. His litteris scriptis milites circiter xxx., quos Dolabella ex
conscripterat, ex Syria fugientes in Pamphyliam venerunt.
nuntiaverunt Dolabellam Antiocheam, quae in Syria est,
esse: non receptum conatum esse aliquotiens vi introire: re-
um semper esse cum magno suo detrimento itaque dc. circiter
sis, aegris relictis, noctu Antiochea profugisse Laodiceam
us: ea nocte omnes fere Asiaticos milites ab eo discessisse, ex
ad octingentos Antiocheam redisse et se iis tradidisse. qui a

DCCCXCII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 26).

CAMP ON MARCH TO CULARO; JUNE 3; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET.

CIC. 63.

D. Brutus sollicitus de Antonii et Lepidi conspiratione legiones quam primum sibi et stipendium mitti vult.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

Maximo meo dolore hoc solacio utor, quod intellegunt homines non sine causa me timuisse ista, quae acciderunt. Deliberent utrum traiciant legiones ex Africa neone, et ex Sardinia; et Brutum arcessant neone; et mihi stipendium dent an decernant. Ad senatum litteras misi. Crede mihi, nisi ista omnia ita fiunt, quem ad modum scribo, magnum nos omnes adituros periculum. Rogo te, videte quibus hominibus negotium detis, qui ad me legiones adducant. Et fide opus est et celeritate. III. Non. Iun., ex castris.

letter to the senate and magistrates (882) was written on May 29.

Pergae] So the mss. There is no need to read *Perga* with Orelli and Wesenberg: cp. note to Att. iii. 5 fin. (60). It was a town in Pamphylia: cp. Acts of the Apostles, xiii. 13.

This is the last letter of D. Brutus to Cicero. He had apparently heard of the junction of Antony and Lepidus.

ex Sardinia] So the mss. We do not hear of any forces having been stationed in Sardinia. The most varied conjectures have been made: e.g. *et ex Macedonia Brutum arcessant* (Siroth); *et Caesarem retineant et Brutum arcessant* (Gronovius); *et ex Sardinia . . .* (Schütz). Mendelssohn is of opinion that there may be a serious corruption, under which are concealed the names of Asinius, Caesar, and Cassius; or that *Sardinia et* contains the name of some northerly portion of Macedonia. But there was probably some force, if even a small one, as garrison in Sardinia, and every available man was wanted at this crisis to defend the State. The position of the words would lend

support to this view, 'whether they will bring over the forces from Africa or not, and from Sardinia.'

dent an decernant] O. E. Schmidt ingeniously suggests that the difference between these words is that *dent* refers to ready money (cp. Caes. B. C. i. 6, 3, *pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur*), *decernant* to money which was to be raised by taxes: cp. 899, 4; 915, 5. Mendelssohn suggests *denegent* for *dent*. Many inferior mss read *dent an <non> decernant*, 'and let them decide whether to give me money or not'—a poor conjecture. Klotz alters *decernant* to *demant*, a bad alteration, as there was no question, or indeed possibility, of taking money from Brutus, inasmuch as he had not as yet got any. A few days later than the date of this letter, on June 6, the senate did vote Brutus all the money available: cp. 894, 2.

negotium . . . adducant] 'you entrust the business of leading the forces to me.' Brutus fears that if the leaders were not trustworthy men, the soldiers would desert to Antony and Lepidus.

Et fide opus est et celeritate] 'loyal and rapid action is required.'

DCCCXCIII. (FAM. XI. 21).

DCCCXCIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 21).

ROME ; JUNE 4 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero respondet ad D. Bruti epistolam (877).

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Dei isti Segulio male faciant, homini nequissimo omnium, sunt, qui fuerunt, qui futuri sunt! Quid? tu illum tecum aut cum Caesare? qui neminem praetermiserit quicum loqui merit cui non eadem ista dixerit? Te tamen, mi Brute, sic ut debeo, quod istud quidquid esset nugarum me scire iusti. Signum enim magnum amoris dedisti. 2. Nam quod in Segulius, veteranos queri, quod tu et Caesar in decemviris essetis, utinam ne ego quidem essem! Quid enim molestius? tamen, cum ego sensissem de iis, qui exercitus haberent, sentiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamarunt; itaque cepti etiam estis me vehementer repugnante. Quocirca Segu-

id pro me, ut de me timeas aliquid, omni te, vir optime mihique carissime, Brute, de me metu libero. Ego enim, quae provideri poterunt, non fallar in iis: quae cautionem non habebunt, de iis non ita valde laboro. Sim enim impudens, si plus postulem quam homini a rerum natura tribui potest. 4. Quod mihi praecipis, ut caveam ne timendo magis timere cogar, et sapienter et amicissime praecipis. Sed velim tibi persuadeas, cum te constet excellere hoc genere virtutis, ut numquam extimescas, numquam perturbare, me huic tuae virtuti proxime accedere. Quam ob rem nec metuum quidquam et cavebo omnia. Sed vide ne tua iam, mi Brute, culpa futura sit, si ego quidquam timeam: tuis enim opibus et consulatu tuo, etiam si timidi essemus, tamen omnem timorem abiiceremus, praesertim cum persuasum omnibus esset mihique maxime, a te nos unice diligere. 5. Consiliis tuis, quae scribis de quattuor legionibus deque agris adsignandis ab utrisque vestrum, vehementer adsentior. Itaque cum quidam de collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurrerent, disturbavi rem totamque vobis integram reservavi. Si quid erit occultius et, ut scribis, reconditum, meorum aliquem mittam, quo fidelius ad te litterae perferantur. Pridie Nonas Iunias.

idea is not prominent here. For *devorare*, used of language, cp. Plaut. *Asin.* iii. 3, 59, *mea dicta devorate*; Aul. iii. 6, 1, *nimum libenter edi sermonem tuum*; Shakespeare, *Othello*, i. 3, 150, 'and with a greedy ear devour up my discourse.' We have bracketed *novam*, which is probably a gloss on *recentem*.

3. *id pro me*] sc. *facere*, understood from *facias*: cp. Fam. xvi. 5, 2 (289), *poteris igitur et facies*. Lehmann (p. 105) adds *facere* after *facias*, comparing for the repetition Att. ii. 13, 2 (40); 886, 3. Crutander adds *facere* after *pro me*; yet cp. Heidemann, p. 61, who justly thinks that there is no need that *facere* should be inserted in the text.

cautionem non habebunt] 'will not admit of being guarded against.' In Off. i. 42, *res habet multas cautiones*, the phrase is somewhat different, 'the affair requires caution in many respects.'

4. *perturbare*] 'disquieted.' The wise

man of the Stoics was free from all fear and disquietude (*perturbationem*).

5. *de quattuor legionibus*] cp. 877, 3, *quattuor legionibus iis quibus agros dandos censuistis, video facultatem fore ex agris Silani et agro Campano*.

ab utrisque vestrum] cp. note to 877, 3.

Itaque . . . reservavi] 'Accordingly, when some of our colleagues had their mouths watering for the agrarian business, I quashed the proposal, and kept it entirely open for your decision.' By *collegis* Cicero means his colleagues among the *decemviri*, § 2. The commission had been appointed, and some of the commissioners wished to proceed to business at once. Cicero succeeded in quashing that proposal, and in suspending business, in accordance with the wishes of D. Brutus expressed in 887, 3.

reconditum] There is no need to add *magis* with Wesenberg before *reconditum*, on account of 877, 4.

DCCCXCIV. (FAM. XI. 24).

DCCCXCIV. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 24).

ROME; JUNE 6; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero D. Bruto significat superiore sibi epistola timorem exemptum. Additendum ei sit et de pecunia decreta.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

Narro tibi: antea subirascebar brevitati tuarum litterarum: mihi loquax esse videor: te igitur imitabor. Quam multa paucis! te recte valere operamque dare ut cotidie melius, dum commode sentire, tribus exercitibus quidvis nos oportere lere. Si timidus essem, tamen ista epistola mihi omnem m abstersisses. Sed, ut mones, frenum momordi: etenim, e incluso omnem spem habuerim in te, quid nunc putas? o iam vigiliam meam, Brute, tibi tradere, sed ita, ut ne desim antiae meae. 2. Quod scribis in Italia te moraturum, dum litterae meae veniant, si per hostem licet, non erraris—multa

Habes amantissimum tui Servium : nos non desumus. VIII. Idus Iunias.

DCCCXCV. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 23).

CULARO ; JUNE 6 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus excusat se, quod Lepido crediderit: accepto de Lepidi et Antonii coniunctione nuntio, suas copias retraxisse significat: auxilium exercitus Caesariani postulat.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Numquam mehercules, mi Cicero, me paenitebit maxima pericula pro patria subire, dum, si quid acciderit mihi, a reprehensione temeritatis absim. Confiterer imprudentia me lapsum, si umquam Lepido ex animo credidissem. Credulitas enim error est magis quam culpa, et quidem in optimi cuiusque mentem facillime irrepit. Sed ego non hoc vitio paene sum deceptus: Lepidum enim pulcre noram. Quid ergo est? Pudor me, qui in bello maxime est periculosus, hunc casum coëgit subire. Nam, si uno loco essem, verebar ne cui obtrectatorum viderer et nimium pertinaciter Lepido offensus et mea patientia etiam alere bellum. 2. Itaque copias prope in conspectum Lepidi Antoniique adduxi quadragintaque millium passuum spatio relicto consedi eo consilio, ut vel celeriter accedere vel salutariter recipere me possem. Ad-

tui] added by Wesenberg from Dresd.

3. *Servium*] i.e. Servius Sulpicius Galba : cp. 841.

1. *absim*] 'provided I am free from all blame on the score of rashness': cp. Att. iii. 15, 2 (73), *illum puto ab isto neclere afuisse*.

optimi cuiusque] cp. 861, 3, *ego non malus homo hoc suspicabar*. The whole sentence is a good example of the sententious remarks which characterise the style of Plancus : cp. 881, 1.

Pudor] 'scrupulous regard for honour.'
si uno loco essem] 'if I remained where I was,' i.e. at the Isara. So the mss. For

a slightly different sense cp. 896, 4, *si uno loco legionem habuissem*. Some editors read *nisi*, 'if I did not come to the same place as Lepidus': yet cp. note to 870, 3. *et . . . bellum*] 'both to have maintained too persistently my grudge against Lepidus, and by my remissness to have even fostered the growth of the war.'

2. *salutariter*] 'without loss'—a slightly strange use of this rare adjective, which has a somewhat colloquial tone. Rhodius (p. 4, note 5) compares C. I. L. vi. 1527, 10, *salutariter latuisse*. In 916, 2, Plancus uses it again in a more natural sense, *nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio*, 'for I know that every plan of mine is of a wholesome nature.'

DCCCXCV. (FAM. X. 23).

haec in loco eligendo, flumen oppositum ut haberem, in quo transitus esset: Vocontii sub manu ut essent, per quorum fideliter mihi pateret iter. Lepidus, desperato adventu meo, non mediocriter captabat, se cum Antonio coniunxit a. d. Kal. Iunias, eodemque die ad me castra moverunt: viginti passuum cum abessent, res mihi nuntiata est. 3. Dedi deum benignitate, ut et celeriter me reciperem et hic nullus nihil fugae simile haberet; non miles ullus, non eques, quidquam impedimentorum amitteretur aut ab illis ferventibus interciperetur. Itaque pridie Nonas Iunias omnes Isaram traieci pontesque, quos feceram, interrupi, ut cum ad colligendum se homines haberent et ego me interea collega coniungerem: quem triduo, cum has dabam litteras, expectabam. 4. Laterensis nostri et fidem et animum singularem

en] The Verdon, a tributary of the Durance (Watson); or the Durance (Andr.).

ontii sub manu ut essent] 'that the Vocontii might be near at hand.' They were in the district between the Isara and the Vocontia. The dictionaries do not give

pridie Nonas] It is about 150 miles from Cularo to Pons Argenteus. Plancus had halted 40 miles from the latter place: he accordingly had about 110 miles to retreat. He started on May 30, and marched the distance in six days, over eighteen miles a day.

in rem publicam semper fatebor. Sed certe nimia eius indulgentia in Lepidum ad haec pericula perspicienda fecit eum minus sagacem. Qui quidem cum in fraudem se deductum videret, manus, quas iustius in Lepidi perniciem armasset, sibi adferre conatus est; in quo casu tamen interpellatus et adhuc vivit et dicitur victurus: sed tamen de hoc parum mihi certum est.

5. Magno cum dolore parricidarum elapsus sum iis: veniebant enim eodem furore in me, quo in patriam, incitati. Iracundias autem harum rerum recentes habebant, quod Lepidum castigare non destiteram, ut exstingeret bellum, quod colloquia facta improbabam, quod legatos fide Lepidi missos ad me in conspectum venire vetueram, quod C. Catium Vestinum, tribunum mil., missum ab Antonio ad eum cum litteris exceperam numeroque hostis habueram. In quo hanc capio voluptatem, quod certe, quo magis me petiverunt, tanto maiorem iis frustratio dolorem attulit.

6. Tu, mi Cicero, quod adhuc fecisti, idem praesta, ut vigilanter nervoseque nos, qui stamus in acie, subornes. Veniat Caesar cum copiis, quas habet firmissimas, aut, si ipsum aliqua res impedit, exercitus mittatur: cuius ipsius magnum periculum agitur. Quidquid aliquando futurum fuit in castris perditorum contra patriam, hoc

in rem publicam] The mss give *in re p.*, perhaps rightly. Rhodius (p. 13) compares Lentulus, 883, 2, *malus animus eorum in nostra salute*; and such usages as Fam. i. 8, 2 (119), *sensus in re p.*: cp. i. 9, 10 (153), and 882, 2.

in fraudem se deductum] 'that he was entrapped.'

victurus] He did *not* survive. As a reward for his patriotism, the senate voted him a public funeral, and a statue to be erected in his honour (Dio Cass. xlvii. 51, 4).

5. *Iracundias*] For the plural cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 39 (30).

harum] Notice that this objective genitive refers to the considerations which follow his censure of Lepidus, &c.

castigare] 'because I did not cease to censure Lepidus, urging him to put an end to the war.'

colloquia] 'intercourse which had been set on foot' (between the soldiers of Antony and those of Lepidus).

legatos fide Lepidi missos] 'ambassadors of Antony sent under a safe conduct by Lepidus.' For *fides publica* cp. Sall.

Jug. 35, 7.

C. Catium] He would appear to have got a kind of recommendation from Lepidus; accordingly Plancus treated him as an enemy, and put him in prison. *Numeroque hostis habueram* is omitted by M. See Adn. Crit.

exceperam] 'intercepted': cp. Att. vii. 22, 1 (320). Mendelssohn suggests *exegeram*, 'drove out of the camp.'

frustratio] 'disappointment.'

6. *ut . . . subornes*] 'and with vigour and energy send supplies to us, who stand in the brunt of battle.' Cicero does not use *subornare* in this sense; it is found in a letter of Antony's, criticised in Phil. xiii. 32, *Apuleiana pecunia Brutum subornastis*.

nervose] cp. Off. iii. 106, where it is opposed to *remisse*, 'with laxity.'

copiis] The Legio Martia and the Fourth had remained with Octavian.

cuius . . . agitur] This is parenthetical ('personally he runs considerable risk,' sc. from the plots of Antony).

Quidquid . . . convenit] 'All the desperadoes who were likely at any time to

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iam convenit. Pro urbis vero salute cur non omnibus facultas, quas habemus, utamur? Quod si vos istis non defueritis, opto, quod ad me attinet, omnibus rebus abunde rei publicae faciam. 7. Te quidem, mi Cicero, in dies mehercules habeo rem sollicitudinesque meas cotidie magis tua merita exacuunt, id aut ex amore aut ex iudicio tuo perdam. Opto ut mihi liceat praesenti pietate meorum officiorum tua beneficia tibi facere diora. VIII. Idus Iun. Cularone, ex finibus Allobrogum.

CXCVI. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (FAM. X. 32).

CORDUBA ; JUNE 8 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Asinius Pollio de Balbi quaestoris sui flagitiis et de suo in rem publicam studio.

C. ASINIUS POLLIO CICERONI.

Balbus quaestor magna numerata pecunia, magno pondere

quidem militibus reddito duxit se a Gadibus et triduum tempestate retentus ad Calpem Kal. Iuniis traiecit sese in regnum Bogudis, plane bene peculiat. His rumoribus utrum Gades referatur an Romam—ad singulos enim nuntios turpissime consilia mutat—nondum scio. 2. Sed praeter furta et rapinas et virgis caesos socios haec quoque fecit,—ut ipse gloriari solet, eadem quae C. Caesar—: ludis, quos Gadibus fecit, Herennium Gallum histrionem, summo ludorum die anulo aureo donatum, in xiv. sessum deduxit:—tot enim fecerat ordines equestris loci,—: quattuorviratum sibi prorogavit: comitia biennii biduo habuit, hoo

duxit se a Gadibus] Cicero would probably have said *se subduxit de*: cp. Q. Fr. iii. 4, 1 (152). The preposition with names of towns is not infrequent from the time of the early Empire; it occurs again in Pollio, 890, 3.

Calpem] Gibraltar. We need not read *Calpen*. The nominative is *Calpes* in Mela, ii. 95, and *Kάλαρις* in Philostratus (Apoll. v. 1): cp. *Calpe relicta*, Juv. xiv. 278, where see the quotations from Priscian and Bentley cited by Mayor.

traiecit sese in regnum] cp. D. Brutus, 847, 2; 869, 4; Caesar, B. C. iii. 112, 9. Cicero does not use the phrase.

Bogudis] Bogudes, or Bogus, King of Mauretania, was a partisan of Caesar's.

plane bene peculiat] 'certainly with a pretty penny in his pocket': cp. Plaut. Pers. ii. 2, 10, *atque oh istanc rem ego aliquid te peculiabo*, 'I'll put a penny in your pocket,' 'I'll give you a tip.'

His rumoribus] 'according to reports up to the present,' abl. of cause.

2. *ludis*] cp. § 3. For the abl. cp. Att. ii. 19, 3 (46), *gladiatoribus*, 'at the gladiatorial shows': Planc. 66, *has orationes ego scripsi ludis et feriis*.

summo ludorum die] 'on the last day of the games': cp. Plaut. Pers. i. 1, 25; Asin. iii. 1, 31; Cael. Fam. viii. 12, 3 (279). Cicero says, Fam. vii. 1, 3 (127), *extremus elephantorum dies fuit*.

anulo aureo donatum] i.e. made him a knight, which was done by giving him a gold ring: cp. Dict. Antiq. i³. 132, s. v. *JUS ANULI AUREI*.

in xiv. sessum deduxit] 'brought him to a seat in the equestrian rows.' After xiv. understand *ordinibus*. Cicero adds *ordinibus*, Att. xv. 3, 2 (733); Phil. ii. 44; but other writers omit it. Schmalz (Pollio, p. 32) quotes Petron. 126, 7,

usque ab orchestra quattuordecim transilit et in extrema plebe quaerit quod diligit; Senec. Epp. 44, 2, *at mehercules multis quattuordecim sunt clausi*. *Sessum* is the supine: cp. Plaut. Poen. Prol. 19, 20, *Neu designator praeter os obambulet Neu sessum ducat dum histrio in scena siet*. It is noticeable that the influence of the '*vanus Otho qui nos distinxit*' (Juv. iii. 159) had spread to the ends of the earth, and that there were separate divisions for the different ranks of society, even at the shows in Gades.

Quattuorviratum] cp. note to Att. ii. 6, 1 (33). Gades, as being a *municipium*, had *quattuorviri* as its chief magistrates (Marquardt i. 152). This prolongation of his office by Balbus was in imitation of Caesar. Caesar may be said to have prolonged his own second dictatorship for over a year, though strictly the dictatorship was granted to him for an indefinite period: cp. C. I. L. i. 451-453. The constant practice of holding the consulship or praetorship for several years in succession (as was done by Marius, Cinna, Carbo, Lepidus, Caesar) was a revolutionary feature of the last century of the republic, and virtually marked the end of the free state and introduction of the monarchy. Formally, indeed, these were repetitions, rather than prorogations of the magistracies; but none the less they were essentially violations of a cardinal feature of the free state, that the principal magistracies should be annual. It is no wonder then that this 'Gaditanian municipal-Caesar' should imitate his model in the most vital feature of his policy: cp. Mommsen, St. R. i². 616, note 1.

comitia biennii] Balbus held the elections, and appointed the magistrates for the two following years, as Caesar had

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enuntiavit, quos ei visum est: exsules reduxit, non horum
 orum, sed illorum, quibus a seditiosis senatus trucidatus aut
 sus est, Sex. Varo proconsule. 3. Illa vero iam ne Caesaris
 m exemplo: quod ludis praetextam de suo itinere ad L.
 nulum procos. sollicitandum posuit, et quidem, cum ageretur,
 memoria rerum gestarum commotus; gladiatoribus autem
 am quemdam, militem Pompeianum, quia, cum depressus in
 n bis gratis depugnasset, auctorare sese nolebat et ad popu-
 confugerat, primum Gallos equites immisit in populum—
 et enim lapides sunt in eum, cum abriperetur Fadius,—
 e abstractum defodit in ludo et vivum combussit, cum quidem
 us, nudis pedibus, tunica soluta, manibus ad tergum reiectis,
 bularet et illi misero quiritanti: C. R. NATUS SUM, responde-

ed the magistrates for three years
 nce just before his assassination.

es reduxit] Caesar too had recalled
 e condemned to exile by the laws
 pey, except Milo: cp. Caes. B. C.
 4.

us] Strictly the senators in a muni-
 own were called *decuriones*.

[Varo proconsule] Probably Sextus

berari, ferroque necari et quidquid aliud
*Eumolpus iussisset: tamquam legitimi
 gladiatores domino corpora animasque re-
 ligiosissime addicimus*, quoted by Mayor
 on Juv. xi. 8 (*regia verba lanistae*). For
 the reading see Adn. Crit.

primum . . . Fadius] Note how during
 this clause Pollio forgets the pendent
 accusative, *Fadium quemdam*, but after-

ret: 'Abi nunc, populum fidem implora.' Bestiis vero cives Romanos, in iis circulatorem quemdam auctionum, notissimum hominem Hispali, quia deformis erat, obiecit. Cum huiusmodi portento res mihi fuit. Sed de illo plura coram. 4. Nunc, quod praestat, quid me velitis facere constituite. Tres legiones firmas habeo, quarum unam, duodecimensimam, cum ad se initio belli arcessisset Antonius hac pollicitatione, quo die in castra venisset, denarios quingenos singulis militibus daturum, in victoria vero eadem praemia, quae suis legionibus—quorum quis ullam finem aut modum futurum putabit?—incitatissimam retinui, aegre mehercules: nec retinuissem, si uno loco habuissem, utpote cum singulae quaedam cohortes seditionem fecerint. Reliquas quoque legiones non destitit litteris atque infinitis pollicitationibus incitare. Nec vero minus Lepidus ursit me et suis et Antonii litteris, ut legionem tricensimam mitterem sibi. 5. Itaque quem exercitum neque vendere ullis praemiis volui nec eorum periculorum metu, quae victoribus illis portendebantur, deminuere, debetis existimare retentum et conservatum rei publicae esse, atque ita credere, quodcumque imperassetis, facturum fuisse, si quod iussistis feci. Nam et provinciam in otio et exercitum in mea potestate

that the words are required. A Roman citizen could not be legally condemned to death, except by the judgment of the people.

circulatorem quemdam auctionum] 'an itinerant pedlar, who attended auctions, a well-known character at Seville': cp. *circumforaneus pharmacopola* in Cluent. 40.

4. *Nunc quod praestat*] 'Now for something more important.' C. F. W. Müller reads *quod restat*, perhaps rightly. *pollicitatione*] That Cicero avoided this word Schmalz (p. 35) infers from Fam. iv. 13, 1 (483), *id quoque deficiebat me, in quo debebat esse aut promissio auxilii alicuius aut consolatio doloris tui. Quod pollicerer non erat.*

denarios quingenos] about £17.

daturum] For the omission of the subject cp. § 5 below; Fam. xvi. 5, 1 (289), *is omnia pollicitus est quae tibi opus essent: facturum puto*, cp. v. 1, 1 (14); viii. 3, 1 (197).

in victoria] 'when the victory is won': cp. Fam. iv. 9, 2 (487), *Caesarem magis communem censemus in victoria futurum fuisse quam incertis in rebus fuisset?* xi. 28,

2 (785); 914, 8; Publilius Syrus (Ribb. 64), *Bis vincit qui se vincit in victoria. incitatissimam*] 'though greatly excited.'

si uno loco habuissem] cp. 895, 1, 'and I should not have been able to hold them in check, if I had had them united together in one place, seeing that some individual cohorts became mutinous.'

seditionem fecerint] cp. Plaut. Merc. i. 1, 14, *Perii, seditionem facit lien, occupat praecordia*. Cicero would use the passive *seditione facta*, but not the active (Schmalz, p. 47).

incitare] 'to work upon them,' 'to stir them up.'

ursit] For this form of the perf. cp. Q. Fr. iii. 9, 1 (160); Lucr. ii. 197.

legionem tricensimam] cp. 824, 5.

5. *retentum . . . rei p.*] 'maintained safe for the state.'

atque . . . feci] 'and you ought to believe that I should have done whatever you commanded, seeing that I have done what you have ordered.' For *si* Gronovius reads *sicut*, which slightly simplifies the sentence, but is not necessary.

DCCCXCVII. (BRUT. I. 10).

: finibus meae provinciae nusquam excessi: militem non
legionarium, sed ne auxiliarium quidem ullum quoquam
et, si quos equites decedentes nactus sum, supplicio adfeci.
um rerum fructum satis magnum re publica salva tulisse me
do. Sed, res publica si me satis novisset et maior pars senatus,
res ex me fructus tulisset. Epistolam, quam Balbo, cum
nunc in provincia esset, scripsi, legendam tibi misi: etiam
extam, si voles legere, Gallum Cornelium, familiarem meum,
co. VI. Idus Iunias, Corduba.

DCCCXCVII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 10).

ME; EARLY IN JUNE; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

ero de bello Mutinensi, de Octaviano omnique de re p. exponit, Brutumque urget
senatus auctoritate celeriter cum exercitu in Italiam veniat, Cassiumque ut idem
hortetur.

CICERO BRUTO SAL

exercitum, quod ut faceres idque maturares, magno opere desiderabat res publica, ingravescit enim in dies intestinum malum nec externis hostibus magis quam domesticis laboramus, qui erant omnino ab initio belli, sed facilius frangebantur: erectior senatus erat non sententiis solum nostris, sed etiam cohortationibus excitatus; erat in senatu satis vehemens et acer Pansa cum in ceteros huius generis, tum maxime in socerum, cui consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. 2. Bellum ad Mutinam ita gerebatur, nihil ut in Caesare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio; huius belli fortuna,

ut in secundis, fluxa, ut in adversis, bona:

erat victrix res publica caesis Antonii copiis, ipso expulso; Bruti deinde ita multa peccata, ut quodam modo victoria excideret e manibus: perterritos, inermes, saucios non sunt nostri duces persecuti datumque Lepido tempus est, in quo levitatem eius saepe perspectam maioribus in malis experiremur. Sunt exercitus boni, sed rudes Bruti et Planci, sunt fidelissima et maxima auxilia Gallorum. 3. Sed Caesarem meis consiliis adhuc gubernatum, praeclara ipsum indole admirabilique constantia improbissimis

ut faceres . . . desiderabat] It is a mere accident that this construction is found only once elsewhere in Cicero (Off. ii. 39); for *opto ut* is common.

externis . . . laboramus] The metaphor in *ingravescit intestinum malum* is kept up, and *hostibus* is used as if *hostes* were the disease.

erectior] 'took a firmer stand.'

socerum] Calenus: cp. Phil. viii. 19.

cui consuli] Cicero inserts the word *consuli*, as otherwise *cui* would be referred to *socerum*. On Cicero's opinion of the consuls cp. 836, 1.

2. *nonnulla in Hirtio*] Cicero is referring to the whole campaign in North Italy, rather than specially to the two engagements, and there is no doubt that there was a certain amount of dilatoriness shown by the consuls: cp. 836, 1; Dio Cass. xli. 35, 6, *τόν τε πόλεμον μήτε σπουδή μήτε παραχρήμα τῇ τοῦ χειμῶνος προφάσει ποιούμενους (τοὺς ἑκάστους) ᾤσθετο*. It is added by Wesenberg.

ut in secundis . . . bona] For this

iambic trimeter cp. Att. iv. 1, 8 (90).

Bruti . . . multa peccata] This refers especially to his delay after being released from Mutina, whereby he allowed Antony to get some days' start on his flight into Gaul. Also, perhaps, Cicero considered that D. Brutus showed want of tact and judgment in not acting in friendly concert with Octavian.

Gallorum] cp. 861, 5; the Allobroges appear to have been especially devoted, 900, 4.

3. *gubernatum*] As it is allowable to say (Phil. x. 19) *mentes huius ordinis gubernantur*, so we can say *hic ordo* or *Caesar gubernatur*: cp. Flacc. 63, *quae (civitas) sic optimatium consiliis gubernatur*. Meyer (p. 121) draws too fine a distinction between the man and his mind when he supposes that *Caesar gubernatur* cannot be allowed, because *gubernare* is not found elsewhere in Cicero with a strictly personal object; but it is found in good writers, cp. Ter. Heeyr. iii. 1, 31, *quia enim qui eos gubernat animus, infirmum gerunt*.

DCCCXCVII. (BRUT. I. 10.)

quidam fallacibusque interpretibus ac nuntiis impulerunt
in certissimam consulatus, quod simul atque sensi, neque ego
absentem litteris monere destiti nec accusare praesentes eius
vires, qui eius cupiditati suffragari videbantur, nec in senatu
certissimorum consiliorum fontes aperire dubitavi, nec vero
in re memini aut senatum meliorem aut magistratus; num-
quam enim in honore extraordinario potentis hominis vel potentis-
simi—quandoquidem potentia iam in vi posita est et armis
adit, ut nemo tribunus plebis, nemo alio in magistratu, nemo
sine auctor existeret. Sed in hac constantia atque virtute
tamen sollicita civitas: illudimur enim, Brute, tum militum
insolentia, tum imperatoris insolentia: tantum quisque se in re
posse postulat, quantum habet virium; non ratio, non
lex, non mos, non officium valet, non iudicium, non
sententia civium, non posteritatis verecundia. 4. Haec ego
ante prospiciens fugiebam ex Italia tum, cum me vestrorum
fama revocavit, incitavisti vero tu me, Brute, Veliae;
quam enim dolebam in eam me urbem ire, quam tu fugeres,
quam liberavisses, quod mihi quoque quondam acciderat periculo

simili, casu tristiore, perrexi tamen Romamque perveni nulloque praesidio quatefeci Antonium contraque eius arma nefanda praesidia, quae oblata sunt Caesaris, consilio et auctoritate firmavi: qui si steterit fide mihi paruerit, satis videmur habituri praesidii; sin autem impiorum consilia plus valuerint quam nostra aut imbecillitas aetatis non potuerit gravitatem rerum sustinere, spes omnis est in te. Quam ob rem advola, obsecro, atque eam rem publicam, quam virtute atque animi magnitudine magis quam eventis rerum liberavisti, exitu libera: omnis omnium concursus ad te futurus est. 5. Hortare idem per litteras Cassium: spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Firmos omnino et duces habemus ab occidente et exercitus; hoc adolescentis praesidium equidem adhuc firmum esse confido, sed ita multi labefactant, ut, ne moveatur, interdum extimescam. Habes totum rei publicae statum, qui quidem tum erat, cum has litteras dabam: velim deinceps meliora sint: sin aliter fuerit—quod di omen avertant!—rei publicae vicem dolebo, quae immortalis esse debebat, mihi quidem quantum reliqui est?

quatefeci] This is a *ἀναξ εἰρημέων*, like so many other words in Cicero's Letters: e.g. *adscussio*, *salaco*, *combibo*. It is legitimately formed: cp. *expergefacio*, *labefacio*, *tremefacio*. Meyer is probably right in supposing that it has a slightly vulgar tone about it, 'I made Antony shake in his shoes.'

si steterit fide] We read *fide* for *idem* with Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. xxix. 195). No definite parallel can be got for *stare idem*: cp. Meyer, 122, 123. Cicero would have said *idem fueris*.

exitu] 'by a (successful) issue'; 'effectively.' *Exitus* is often used in this sense in Livy, e.g. xxxii. 40, 3, *sine exitu*, 'without (successful) result.' Somewhat similar is 833, 3, *ut quae rei p. bonisque omnibus polliceremur, exitu praesturemus*. Accordingly, there is no necessity to have recourse to emendation, either inserting *felici* with Kayser, or altering to *exitio* with Becher, or to *exercitu* with Studemund; though for the latter may be compared 902, 3, *is tuumque exercitum expectamus sine quo . . . viz satis liberi videmur fore*, and *exitus* and

exercitus are often confused by copyists: cp. Drakenborch on Livy, v. 26, 7; xxii. 13, 5.

5. *in vestrorum castrorum principiis*] 'in the head-quarters of your camp.' This was the public place in the camp before the tents of the tribunes: cp. Dict. Antiq. i³. 374 a. The word is used in this sense by Nepos, Eum. 7, 2, a contemporary of Cicero. For the substance of the sentence cp. 904, 2.

ne moveatur] 'lest it should be moved from its firm base.' We should have expected *moveatur de statu* or *loco*; but as Horace (Sat. i. 6, 20) can say *movere* for *movere de senatu*, so Cicero may be accorded the privilege here of omitting an ordinary adjunct: cp. Psalm 126, 1, 'Mount Zion which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever.'

totum rei p. statum] cp. 902, 3, *de tota re p. plura scribam*.

rei p. vicem dolebo] cp. Att. iv. 6, 1 (110), *ipsius vicem minime dolemus*; 742, 3, *tuam vicem saepe doleo*.

mihi quidem . . . est?] 'as for myself—ah! how little remains?'

DCCCXCVIII. (FAM. XII. 8).

DCCCXCVIII. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 8).

ROME; AFTER JUNE 8; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero renovatum a Lepido bellum esse queritur et C. Cassium ad liberandam
licam hortatur.

CICERO CASSIO S.

Scelus adfinis tui Lepidi summamque levitatem et incon-
m ex actis, quae ad te mitti certo scio, cognosse te arbitror.
nos confecto bello, ut arbitrabamur, renovatum bellum
us, spemque omnem in D. Bruto et Plancio habemus: si
quaeris, in te et in meo Bruto non solum ad praesens
ium, si, quod nolim, adversi quid acciderit, sed etiam ad
nationem perpetuae libertatis. 2. Nos hic de Dolabella
amus quae vellemus, sed certos auctores non habebamus.
dem magnum hominem et praesenti iudicio et reliqui tem-
xpectatione scito esse. Hoc tibi proposito fac ut ad summa

DCCCXCIX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 30).

ROME; AFTER JUNE 8; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero silentium litterarum, quod non esset nisi litigantium commendationibus interpellatum, molestis occupationibus suis excusat amoremque suum summum amico significat: deinde de bello renovato scribit, tum de angustiis pecuniae publicae propter sumptum, quem in rem militarem postularat Cornificius: de Dionysio, de Luceio, de Calvisii legatis.

CICERO CORNIFICIO S.

1. Itane? praeter litigatores nemo ad te meas litteras? Multae istae quidem: tu enim perfecisti ut nemo sine litteris meis tibi se commendatum putaret: sed quis umquam tuorum mihi dixit esse cui darem quin dederim? aut quid mihi iucundius quam, cum coram tecum loqui non possim, aut scribere ad te aut tuas legere litteras? Illud magis mihi solet esse molestum, tantis me impediri occupationibus, ut ad te scribendi meo arbitratu facultas nulla detur. Non enim te epistolis, sed voluminibus lacerarem, quibus quidem me a te provocari oportebat. Quamvis enim occupatus sis, otii tamen plus habes, aut, si ne tu quidem vacas, noli impudens esse nec mihi molestiam exhibere et a me litteras crebriores, cum tu mihi raro mittas, flagitare. 2. Nam cum antea distinebar maximis occupationibus, propterea quod omnibus curis *rem publicam* mihi tuendam putabam, tum hoc tempore multo distineor vehementius. Ut enim gravius aegrotant ii, qui cum levati morbo viderentur, in eum de integro inciderunt, sic vehementius nos

This letter was probably written about the same time as 898: see introd. to that letter, and note to § 2 of this one.

1. *litigatores*] 'those who have law-suits,' and, accordingly, did not fail to present their letters of introduction. For ellipse of *dedit* cp. Att. xii. 38, 1 (581); Fam. xv. 16, 1 (531).

lacerarem] 'assail.'

provocari] 'though it is by volumes, indeed, that I should have been challenged (to make reprisals).' For *provocari* with abl. cp. Off. i. 48.

aut . . . vacas] 'or if you too have

no leisure, do not be importunate, and keep troubling me, and demand of me more frequent letters, when you write to me so seldom.' The kindly tone of the letter generally leads one to suppose that this is, in some measure, a simulation of anger. For *ne . . . quidem* see Reid on Acad. i. 5.

2. *in eum de integro inciderunt*] 'have a relapse.' The usual word for 'relapse' is *recidere*: cp. Att. xii. 21, 5 (557), and *febres recidivae* is the technical term for 'recurrent fevers.'

vehementius] 'acutely.'

DCCCXCIX. (FAM. XII. 30).

mus, qui profligato bello ac paene sublato renovatum bellum
conamur. Sed haec hactenus. 3. Tu tibi, mi Cornifici,
persuadeas non esse me tam imbecillo animo, ne dicam
ano, ut a te vinci possim aut officiis aut amore. Non dubi-
equidem, verum tamen multo mihi notiozem amorem tuum
Chaerippus. O hominem semper illum quidem mihi
, nunc vero etiam suavem! Vultus mehercule tuos mihi
ssit omnes, non solum animum ac verba pertulit. Itaque
ereri, ne tibi suscensuerim, quod eodem exemplo ad me, quo
eros. Requisivi equidem proprias ad me unum a te litteras,
eque vehementer et amanter. 4. De sumptu, quem te in
militarem facere et fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitu-
propterea quod et orbis *est* senatus consulibus amissis et
libiles angustiae pecuniae publicae, quae conquiritur undique,
time meritis militibus promissa solvantur, quod quidem fieri
tributo posse non arbitror. 5. De Attio Dionysio nihil puto
quoniam mihi nihil dixit Tratorius. De P. Lucecio nihil

igato . . . sublato] cp. 898, 1.

on esse me] 'that I am far from

on the rich, both men and women: cp.

Appian iv., B. C. 5, 32, 34. Dio Cassius,

tibi concedo, quo studiosior tu sis quam ego sum: est enim nobis necessarius. Sed a magistris cum contenderem de proferendo die, probarunt mihi sese, quo minus id facerent, et compromisso et iure iurando impediri. Qua re veniendum arbitror Luceio. Quamquam si meis litteris obtemperavit, cum tu haec leges, illum Romae esse oportebit. 6. Ceteris de rebus maximeque de pecunia, cum Pansae mortem ignorares, scripsisti, quae per nos ab eo consequi te posse arbitrare. Quae te non fefellissent, si viveret: nam te diligebat: post mortem autem eius quid fieri posset non videbamus. 7. De Venuleio, Latino, Horatio, valde laudo. Illud non nimium probo, quod scribis, quo illi animo aequiore ferrent, te tuis etiam legatis lictores ademisse—honore enim cum ignominia dignis non erant comparandi,—eosque ex senatus consulto, si non decedunt, cogendos, ut decedant, existimo. Haec fere ad eas litteras, quas eodem exemplo binas accepi. De reliquo velim tibi persuadeas non esse mihi meam dignitatem tua carior.

by whom the estate might be sold. After ten days if the bankrupt was alive, or five if he was dead, a third order is made, and the conditions of sale are published. After twenty (or ten) days more a decree of the praetor assigns (*addicit*) the estate to the purchaser. This shows that there were fixed times for the different steps in the sale of a bankrupt's estate. In the present case the liquidators (it appears that there were more than one), who, no doubt, made oath when appointed that they would act strictly according to law, declare that they are unable to put off the auction. It is not quite clear how *compromissum* comes in. A *compromissum* is an agreement of two persons to refer the matter in dispute to an arbiter, and to abide by his decision (cp. Long on Verr. ii. chap. 27, § 66). Probably Luceius, or some other person interested in the postponement of the auction, had made an agreement with the *magistri* to refer his claim for postponement to an arbiter, and that arbiter had decided against postponement. Accordingly, it was necessary that Luceius should put in an appearance on the day fixed, if he did not acknowledge the debt.

tu sis] So H Pal; *in sis* M. The ordinary reading is *eius sis*, but Mendelssohn quotes Fam. xiii. 61 (233), *filio mire studioso*, to show that *studiosus* can be

used absolutely: cp. Fam. xiv. 1, 2 (82); Att. x. 16, 4 (401).

6. *arbitrare*] The subjunctive is that of reported definition; cp. note to Att. ii. 1, 2 (27), and Roby, § 1740.

Quae te non fefellissent] 'and you would not have been disappointed in this.'

7. *Venuleio, Latino, Horatio*] Perhaps two of these were the legates of C. Calvisius, whom he left at Utica when he returned to Rome: cp. Phil. iii. 26, and Tissot, *Fastes de la Province d'Afrique*, p. 25. Mommsen, however (St. R. i². 370, note 6), thinks that they were unimportant senators who had been granted lictors (cp. 813). It would appear that even the legates had no right to have lictors.

honore . . . comparandi] 'For they (sc. your legates) ought not, in respect of distinction, to be put on a par with those who deserve to be disgraced.' For this use of the ablative cp. Livy ix. 19, 1, *Restat ut copias copias comparentur vel numero vel militum genere vel multitudine auxiliorum*: so that there is no necessity to read, with Lehmann, p. 107, *Honore enim <cum digni sunt> cum ignominia dignis non erant comparandi*.

Haec . . . eodem exemplo binas accepi] 'This is the answer I have to make to the two duplicate letters which I have received': cp. note to 855, 1; 810, 1.

DCCCC. (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 4, 5).

DCCCC. D. BRUTUS AND L. PLANCUS TO THE
SENATE AND MAGISTRATES (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 4, 5).

ULARO ; ABOUT JUNE 11 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

fragmento epistolae D. Brutus se Antonio et Lepido pro virili parte restitutum
ollicetur, et senatum magistratusque rogat ut nihil de diligentia remittant.

RUTUS IMP. COS. DES. ET PLANCVS IMP. COS. DESIG. S. D.
PR. TR. PL. SENATUI POPULO PLEBIQUE ROMANAE.]

. * * * in spem venerant, quod neque Planci quattuor legiones
bus suis copiis pares arbitrabantur neque ex Italia tam
iter exercitum traici posse credebant. Quos ipsi adhuc satis
ganter Allobroges equitatusque omnis, qui eo praemissus erat
bis, sustinebant, nostroque adventu sustineri facilius posse
dimus. Tamen, si quo etiam casu Isaram se traiecerint, ne
detrimentum rei publicae iniungant, summa a nobis dabitur
a. 5. Vos magnum animum optimamque spem de summa re

quidem eas copias, quas diu simulatione rei publicae comparabant, subito ad patriae periculum converterunt.

DCCCCI. CASSIUS PARMENSIS TO CICERO
(FAM. XII. 13).

CROMMYUACRIS, IN CYPRUS; JUNE 13; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;
AET. CIC. 63.

C. Cassius quaestor gratulatur de Mutinensi victoria et res a se gestas exponit.

C. CASSIUS Q. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. S. V. B. E. V. Cum rei publicae vel salute vel victoria gaudemus tum instauratione tuarum laudum: quod maximus consularis maximum consulem te ipse viciisti, et laetamur et mirari satis non possumus. Fatale nescio quid tuae virtuti datum, id quod saepe iam experti sumus. Est enim tua toga omnium armis felicior: quae nunc quoque nobis paene victam rem publicam ex manibus hostium eripuit ac reddidit. Nunc ergo vivemus liberi: nunc te, omnium maxime civis et mihi carissime—id quod maximis rei publicae tenebris comperisti,—nunc te habebimus testem

qui quidem . . . converterunt] Watson thinks that this is an allusion to Lepidus, though it is just possible that it is a hint that Octavian is really hostile; for D. Brutus appears to have had suspicions that he was not to be trusted: cp. 854, 4, *neque Caesari imperari potest*; 877, 1, *se (Caesarem) non esse commissurum ut tolli possset*. The date of this letter will not, of course, admit of any reference to the declared hostility of Octavian.

Schütz, Krause (in Pauly), and Wessenberg say that the writer of this letter was Lucius Cassius, nephew of Cassius the conspirator. Appian, iv. 135, states that this Lucius Cassius died fighting desperately at Philippi. But Drumann (ii. 161-163), Ruete (56-7), Prof. A. S. Wilkins (on Hor. Epist. i. 4, 3), and Mendelssohn hold that the writer is Cassius Parmensis: cp. with § 3 Appian v. 2, Κασσιος δ Παρμήσιος ἐπικλην ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν (in

42 B.C.) ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βροῦτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Ruete supposes that the C. Cassius mentioned in Att. xv. 8 (741) is also Cassius Parmensis. For more about him cp. Teuffel, § 210, 7.

1. *instauratione tuarum laudum*] 'revival of your glories.' Cassius is congratulating Cicero on the victory of Mutina, which the state had won by reason of his policy.

Fatale nescio quid] 'a power as of Fate.'

Est enim . . . felicior] This was the regular compliment to be paid Cicero. He appears to have first paid it to himself (*Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*) in his poem *De meis temporibus*, 691 (63): cp. Pis. 73 ff., and Mayor's note on Juv. viii. 240. The verse was generally condemned for its arrogance, Quintil. xi. 1, 24.

maximis . . . tenebris] 'in the darkest

DCCCCII. (BRUT. I. 9).

et Dolabellam est. Nisi quid navibus Laudicenorum supportare, cito fame pereat necesse est : ne supportare possit, et Cassii bene magna, cui praeest Sextilius Rufus, et tres, quas nos maxime, ego, Turullius, Patiscus, facile praestabunt. Te volo sperare et rem publicam, ut vos istis expedistis, ita pro nostra celeriter nobis expediri posse confidere. Vale. Data Idibus Cypro, a Crommyuacrige.

DCCCCII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 9).

ROME; JUNE 18 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Am morte Porciae suae lugentem consolatur Cicero et ad fortitudinem cohortatur.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

L. Fungerer officio, quo tu functus es in meo luctu, teque per aras consolarer, nisi scirem iis remediis, quibus meum dolorem

tu levasses, te in tuo non egere, ac velim facilius, quam tunc mihi, nunc tibi tute medeare; est autem alienum tanto viro, quantus es tu, quod alteri praeceperit, id ipsum facere non posse. Me quidem cum rationes, quas collegeras, tum auctoritas tua a nimio maerore deterruit; cum enim mollius tibi ferre viderer, quam deceret virum, praesertim eum, qui alios consolari soleret, accusasti me per litteras gravioribus verbis, quam tua consuetudo ferebat. 2. Itaque iudicium tuum magni aestimans idque veritus me ipse collegi et ea, quae didiceram, legeram, acceperam, graviora duxi tua auctoritate addita. Ac mihi tum, Brute, officio solum erat et naturae, tibi nunc populo et scenae, ut dicitur, serviendum est; nam, cum in te non solum exereitus tui, sed omnium civium ac

λοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρομένου περὶ τῆς Πορκίας, ὡς ἀμεληθείσης ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ προελομένης διὰ νόσον καταλιπεῖν τὸν βίον. "Εοικεν οὖν ὁ Νικόλαος ἡγνοῦσθαι τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τό γε πάθος καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναίκος καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπονοῆσαι δίδωσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιστόλιον, εἴπερ ἔρα τῶν γνησίων ἐστίν. Now it is plain that Plutarch appears to favour the more romantic story, not only by the words in his life of Cato Minor 73, καὶ προήκατο (ἡ Πορκία) τὸν βίον ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, but also by his statement here that the letter of Brutus is, perhaps, not genuine. It is easy to account for the more romantic story when we remember the tone of the opposition literature of the early empire, and its tendency to exalt Brutus and all connected with him to a plane of heroism on which they never deserved to be placed; but it is hard to account for the more prosaic story, unless it was virtually the truth. No doubt in Plutarch's time there were forged letters, purporting to have been composed by Brutus; but we cannot believe that a forger, if he wrote such letters as we possess in the interests of Augustus and the Empire, would have represented Brutus and his doings in a manner so very similar to that in which other writers exhibit them, and mingled with so very little exaggeration or misrepresentation. We cannot, of course, argue that a forger on the Republican side, if composing a correspondence of Brutus and Cicero, would have adopted the romantic story which Plutarch attributes to Nicolaus; for that story supposed that Porcia's death

did not occur till after the deaths of Cicero and Brutus; but he would surely have given more prominence than is given in these letters to the death of a personage who, according to the prevailing account, won such high honour by the courage and magnanimity displayed in the closing scene of her life.

1. *levasses*] This subjunctive is due to the attraction of the other clauses: cp. Tusc. iii. 35, *diceret aliquid et magno quidem philosopho dignum si ea bona esse sentiret quae essent homino dignissima*, and many examples quoted by Dräger, i. 318-9.

teque per litteras . . . posse] Some writers have supposed that this sentence has been copied from Fam. iv. 5, 5 (555), the celebrated letter of condolence sent by Servius Sulpicius to Cicero: they also compare § 2 of this letter with § 6 of that of Sulpicius. But letters of condolence, no matter by whom written, of necessity contain very similar thoughts: in them, if anywhere, 'common is the commonplace.'

Me quidem] Cicero refers to the letter of consolation which Brutus sent him on the death of Tullia.

gravioribus verbis] Cicero did not like that letter of Brutus at all: cp. Att. xii. 14, 4 (546), *De Bruti ad me litteris scripsi ad te antea: prudenter scriptae sed nihil quod me adjuvaret*; xiii. 6, 3 (554), *cum illius (sc. Bruti) obiurgatoria (epistola)*.

2. *populo et scenae, ut dicitur*] 'you must pay regard to the people, and the part we act, so to say, before the public': cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 71, *ubi se a vulgo et scaena in secreta remorant*.

DCCCCIII. (FAM. XI. 25).

ne gentium coniecti oculi sint, minime decet, propter quem
tiores ceteri sumus, eum ipsum animo debilitatum videri.
am ob rem accepisti tu quidem dolorem—id enim amisisti, cui
ile in terris nihil fuit,—et est dolendum in tam gravi vulnere,
id ipsum, carere omni sensu doloris, sit miserius quam dolere,
, ut modice, ceteris utile est, tibi necesse est. 3. Scriberem
ra, nisi ad te haec ipsa nimis multa essent. Nos te tuumque
rcitum exspectamus, sine quo, ut reliqua ex sententia succed-
, vix satis liberi videmur fore. De tota re publica plura scribam
fortasse iam certiora iis litteris, quas Veteri nostro cogitabam
re.

DCCCCIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 25).

ROME; JUNE 18; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero scribit omnem spem esse in Planco et D. Bruto. De M. Bruti rebus
ior fieri cupit.

bellum commune vocare non desino. Qui utinam iam adesset! intestinum urbis malum, quod est non mediocre, minus timere-mus. Sed quid ago? non imitor λακωνισμόν tuum: altera iam pagella procedit. Vince et vale. xiv. Kal. Quintiles.

DCCCCIV. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 9).

ROME; MIDDLE OF JUNE; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero queritur de Lepido et Cassium, ut ad rem publicam liberandam in Italiam veniat, hortatur.

CICERO CASSIO S.

1. Brevitas tuarum litterarum me quoque breviorē in scribendo facit et, vere ut dicam, non satis occurrit quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perferri ad te certo scio, tuas autem ignoramus. Tamquam enim clausa sit Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos praeter rumores de oppresso Dolabella, satis illos quidem constantes, sed adhuc sine auctore. 2. Nos, confectum bellum cum putaremus, repente a Lepido tuo in summam sollicitudinem sumus adducti. Itaque tibi persuade, maximam rei publicae spem in te et in tuis copiis esse. Firmos omnino exercitus habemus, sed tamen, ut omnia, ut spero, prospere procedant, multum inte-

2. *intestinum . . . mediocre*] 'internal troubles here in the city, no slight ones.' The reference is probably to the intrigues which were in progress to secure the consulship for Octavian, cp. 897, 2, as Manutius supposes, though these intrigues did not begin to be really serious until July: cp. 915, 3; 916, 6.

pagella] On account of the shortness of this letter, which, nevertheless, required a second page, it has been supposed that this letter was written on *codicilli*, for which cp. Fam. ix. 26, 1 (479).

Vince et vale] 'Success and health'—a formula which occurs elsewhere: cp. 907 fin.

1. *Brevitas tuarum litterarum*] Schmidt (Cass. p. 52) considers that the present

letter is an answer to 822, which was written on March 7. It may seem a bold thing to suppose that a letter would take over 100 days to reach Rome from Syria; but a letter took close on 70 days to reach Cicero in Cilicia, cp. Fam. iii. 11, 1 (265); and the messenger of Cassius may have been delayed, owing to his having to take precautions against being captured by Dolabella: cp. 856, 1.

actis] cp. 898, 1.

2. *a Lepido tuo*] cp. note to 790, 2. The fact that the treachery of Lepidus is mentioned in the middle of the letter as a subject which had been treated of previously shows that the present letter was written later than 898.

ut omnia . . . procedant] 'even supposing everything goes on prosperously.'

DCCCCV. (FAM. XI. 15).

et te venire. Exigua enim spes est rei publicae—nam nullam
libet dicere—, sed, quaecumque est, ea despondetur anno
consulatus tui. Vale.

DCCCCV. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 15).

ROME; JUNE (END OF); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Laudat M. Cicero officium D. Bruti et hortatur, ut secum iam ipse certet.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DES. S. D.

1. Etsi mihi tuae litterae iucundissimae sunt, tamen iucundius
est, quod in summa occupatione tua Planco collegae mandasti, ut
mihi per litteras excusaret: quod fecit ille diligenter. Mihi
sem nihil amabilius officio tuo et diligentia. Coniunctio tua
et collega concordiaque vestra, quae litteris communibus decla-
ta est, S. P. Q. R. gratissima accidit. 2. Quod superest, perge,
Brute, et iam non cum aliis sed tecum inse certa. Plura

DCCCCVI. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 22).

ROME; JUNE (END OF); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Planco, qui agris dividendis praefici cupierat, respondet.

CICERO PLANCO.

1. In te et in collega omnes spes est, dis approbantibus. Concordia vestra, quae senatui declarata litteris vestris est, mirifice et senatus et cuncta civitas delectata est. 2. Quod ad me scripseras de re agraria, si consultus senatus esset, ut quisque honorificentissimam de te sententiam dixisset, eam secutus essem: qui certe ego fuisset. Sed propter tarditatem sententiarum moramque rerum cum ea, quae consulebantur, ad exitum non pervenirent, commodissimum mihi Plancoque fratri visum est uti eo *s. c.*, quod ne nostro arbitratu componeretur quis fuerit impedimento arbitror te ex Planci litteris cognovisse. 3. Sed sive in *s. c.* sive in ceteris rebus desideras aliquid, sic tibi persuade, tantam esse apud omnes bonos tui caritatem, ut nullum genus amplissimae dig-

1. *Concordia*] This shows that Plancus and D. Brutus had joined forces: cp. 905, introd. note.

2. *de re agraria*] Both D. Brutus and Plancus evidently wished to be on the Commission which was to be appointed to consider the distribution of lands to the soldiers: cp. 877, 1.

si consultus . . . fuisset] This sentence is somewhat awkward, as *qui* must refer to *quisque*; and there is a slight verbal inaccuracy in Cicero's saying that he would have followed a proposal, and then saying that he would have originated it; but the sense is plain. We are to suppose that *qui . . . fuisset* is a sort of correction on Cicero's part, 'If the senate had been consulted, I should have adopted the opinion of the proposer of the most complimentary motion on your behalf, and that proposer would assuredly have been myself.' Various alterations have been proposed. Mendelssohn suggests *esset*, in *quis* for *essem* *qui*, 'the senate would

have followed the most complimentary opinion.' The long separation of the relative from the antecedent is not a vital objection to the passage; for such separation is found in Cicero (*Tusc. i. 3*), and is frequent in other writers, e.g. *Caes. B. G. vii. 59, 2* (*qui = Bellovaci*); *Sall. Cat. 48, 1* (*quos = plebes*); *Tac. Ann. i. 74, 1* (*qui = Caepio*); *Vell. ii. 47, 4* (*quem = Milonem*); still it is bold to change *essem* to *esset* in. We thought of *quod ego certe fuisse*, 'which I should certainly have approved of': cp. *Tusc. i. 55*. But it is safer, on the whole, to adhere to the mss reading.

uti eo . . . cognovisset] 'to accept the decree which was passed; and I think you have learned from your brother's letters who hindered its being drafted according to our wishes.' Most editors since Manutius add *s. c.*; or, with Orelli and Baier, think that *eo* took the place of *s. c.* The person referred to by *quis* was probably Servilius: cp. 838, 3.

DCCCCVII. (FAM. X. 26).

is excogitari possit quod tibi non paratum sit. Litteras vehementer exspecto et quidem tales, quales maxime opto.

DCCCCVII. CICERO TO FURNIUS (FAM. X. 26).

ROME; JUNE (END); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

od se Furnius scripserat se ad comitia praetoria venturum, monet eum M. Cicero, ens potius bene de re publica mereatur.

M. CICERO S. D. C. FURNIO.

. Lectis tuis litteris, quibus declarabas aut omittendos Nar-
nses aut eum periculo dimicandum, illud magis timui: quod
um non moleste fero. Quod de Planci et Bruti concordia
is, in eo vel maximam spem pono victoriae. De Gallorum
o nos aliquando cognoscemus, ut scribis, cuius id opera
ime excitatum sit. Sed iam, mihi crede, cognovimus. Itaque
ndissimis tuis litteris stomachatus sum in extremo. Scribis

datum te putas et id cogitas, ut aut ad comitia curras aut, si iam confecta, domi tuae sis, ne cum maximo periculo, ut scribis, stultissimus sis? Non arbitror te ita sentire: omnes enim tuos ad laudem impetus novi. Quod si, ut scribis, ita sentis, non magis te quam de te iudicium reprehendo meum. Te adipiscendi magistratus levissimi et divulgatissimi, si ita adipiscare ut plerique, praepropera festinatio abducet a tantis laudibus, quibus te omnes in caelum iure et vere ferunt? Scilicet id agitur, utrum hac petitione an proxima praetor fias, non ut ita de re publica mereare, omni honore ut dignissimus iudicare. 3. Utrum nescis quam alte ascenderis an pro nihilo id putas? Si nescis, tibi ignosco, nos in culpa sumus: sin intellegis, ulla tibi est praetura vel officio, quod pauci, vel gloria, quam omnes sequuntur, dulcior? Hac de re et ego et Calvisius, homo magni iudicii tuique amantissimus, te accusamus cotidie. Comitata tamen, quoniam ex iis pendes, quantum facere possumus, quod multis de causis rei publicae arbitramur conducere, in Ianuarium mensem protrudimus. Vince igitur et vale.

id cogitas ut] 'are planning this, either to hasten back to the elections.'

impetus] 'impulses': cp. Vell. ii. 55, 2, *adolescens impetus ad bella maximi*.

adipiscendi . . . festinatio] 'this precipitous haste to acquire a magistracy, which is most worthless and common if you were to acquire it in the way most candidates do, will draw you away from the sphere of that fame with which all men are legitimately and rightly immortalizing you' (or 'lauding you to skies').

ut plerique] i.e. without having performed any distinguished service which might give you a claim to it.

Scilicet . . . iudicare] 'We are to suppose, are we, that the point is whether you be chosen praetor at this election or

the next; and not that you should deserve so well of the state as to be esteemed most worthy of every honour.' *Id agitur* is somewhat zeugmatic, (1) = 'the question is,' (2) 'the object is.'

3. *Calvisius*] cp. note to 880, 3.

protrudimus] The dictionaries give no other example of this use of *protrudere*. Cicero generally uses *detrudere*: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 3 (135); Att. iv. 16, 6 (144).

Vince igitur et vale] 'Success, therefore, and health.' The same conclusion occurs 903, 2. Some editors insert *te*, 'conquer yourself,' i.e. give up your idea of coming to Rome and abide at your post. But 903, 2 shows that *vince et vale* is a mere formula.

DCCCCVIII. (BRUT. I. 13).

DCCCCVIII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 13).

IN MACEDONIA ; JULY 1 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus liberos Lepidi Ciceroni commendat, rogatque ne ex lege cum iis agatur.

BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

. De M. Lepido vereri me cogit reliquorum timor : qui si
merit se nobis, quod velim temere atque iniuriose de illo sus-
ci sint homines, oro atque obsecro te, Cicero, necessitudinem
ram tuamque in me benevolentiam obtestans, sororis meae
os obliviscaris esse Lepidi filios meque iis in patris locum
essisse existimes : hoc si a te impetro, nihil profecto dubitabis
iis suscipere ; aliter alii cum suis vivunt, nihil ego possum in
ris meae liberis facere, quo possit expleri voluntas mea aut
um. Quid vero aut mihi tribuere boni possunt—si modo
i sumus, quibus aliquid tribuatur—aut ego matri ac sorori
isque illis praestaturus sum, si nihil valuerit apud te reli-

coniunctissimo homine, privatim, vel a consulari viro remota necessitudine privata, debeo impetrare. Quid sis facturus, velim mihi quam primum rescribas. Kal. Quinctilibus ex castris.

DCCCCIX. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 12).

ROME; JULY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero excusat se Bruto quod matris eius et sororis precibus de liberis M. Lepidi hostis a senatu iudicati, excipiendis satisfacere non posset. De Antistio liberaliter promittit, et ipsum, ut in Italiam veniat, hortatur.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Etsi daturus eram Messallae Corvino continuo litteras, tamen Veterem nostrum ad te sine litteris meis venire nolui. Maximo in discrimine res publica, Brute, versatur victoresque rursus decertare cogimur: id accidit M. Lepidi scelere et amentia. Quo tempore cum multa propter eam curam, quam pro re publica suscepi, graviter ferrem, tum nihil tuli gravius quam me non posse matris tuae precibus cedere, non sororis, nam tibi, quod mihi plurimi est, facile me satisfacturum arbitrabar; nullo enim modo poterat causa Lepidi distingui ab Antonio omniumque iudicio etiam durior erat, quod cum honoribus amplissimis a senatu esset Lepidus ornatus, tum etiam paucis ante diebus praeclaras

from you, whether on private grounds, because you are Cicero, a close friend, or, private considerations apart, because you are a man of consular position,' i.e. a public man, who has attained to high position in the state, and accordingly ought to have a calm judicial mind, and not one capable of being hurried away by feelings of revenge.

1. *Veterem*] Cicero must have learned later than the time when he wrote 902 fin. that Vetus was not going to Brutus as soon as he had expected; most probably he learned it after he had written 897, and then sent that letter by another messenger. This letter was written later than June 30, the day on which Lepidus was declared a

public enemy: cp. § 1, *nullo modo poterat causa Lepidi distingui ab Antonio*; and before 913, written on July 11.

M. Lepidi scelere et amentia] cp. Rutil. Namatianus 299. *Ille tamen Lepidus prior civilibus armis Qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus, Qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam Obruit auxiliis orbe pavente novis.*

sororis] wife of Lepidus.

ab Antonio] an instance of the ordinary *comparatio compendiaria*: cp. 864, 2 (*liberatoribus*); 866, 4 (*cum quolibet*).

durior] 'more flagrant,' 'more impudent.' Generally used with *os* in this sense: cp. Pro Quint. 77.

praeclaras litteras] Probably a letter to the senate of the same tenor as 869,

DCCCCIX. (BRUT. I. 12).

...eras ad senatum misisset. *Set* repente non solum recepit
...quias hostium, sed bellum acerrime terra marique gerit, cuius
...us qui futurus sit, incertum est: ita, cum rogamur, ut miseri-
...liam liberis eius impertiamus, nihil affertur, quo minus summa
...plicitia, si—quod Iuppiter omen avertat!—pater puerorum
...erit, subeunda nobis sint. 2. Nec vero me fugit, quam sit
...rbum parentum scelera filiorum poenis lui, sed hoc praeclare
...bus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes
...publicae redderet; itaque Lepidus crudelis in liberos, non is,
...Lepidum hostem iudicat. Atque, ille si armis positis de vi
...nnatus esset, quo in iudicio certe defensionem non haberet,
...dem calamitatem subirent liberi bonis publicatis. Quamquam,
...od tua mater et soror deprecatur pro pueris, id ipsum et multa
...a crudeliora nobis omnibus Lepidus, Antonius et reliqui hostes
...untiant; itaque maximam spem hoc tempore habemus in te
...ue exercitu tuo: cum ad rei publicae summam, tum ad gloriam
...dignitatem tuam vehementer pertinet te, ut ante scripsi, in
...liam venire quam primum: eget enim vehementer cum viribus
...s, tum etiam consilio res publica. 3. Veterem pro eius erga te

benevolentia singularique officio libenter ex tuis litteris complexus sum eumque cum tui, tum rei publicae studiosissimum amanti-
mumque cognovi. Ciceronem meum propediem, ut spero, videbo;
tecum enim illum [tet te] in Italiam celeriter esse venturum
confido.

DCCCCX. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 10).

ROME; JULY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Lepidum hostem iudicatum scribit et Cassium cum exercitu in Italia
expectari.

CICERO CASSIO S.

1. Lepidus, tuus adfinis, meus familiaris, pridie Kal. Quin-
tiles sententiis omnibus hostis a senatu iudicatus est ceterique, qui
una cum illo a re publica defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem
redeundi ante Kal. Septembr. potestas facta est. Fortis sane
senatus, sed maxime spe subsidii tui. Bellum quidem, cum haec
scribebam, sane magnum erat scelere et levitate Lepidi. Nos de
Dolabella cotidie quae volumus audimus, sed adhuc sine capite,
sine auctore, rumore nuntio. 2. Quod cum ita esset, tamen litteris
tuis, quas Nonis Maiis ex castris datas acceperamus, ita persuasum
erat civitati, ut illum iam oppressum omnes arbitrantur, te autem
in Italiam venire cum exercitu, ut, si haec ex sententia confecta
essent, consilio atque auctoritate tua, sin quid forte titubatum, ut

3. *et te*] That these words cannot be
allowed to stand is plain, both from *tecum*
and from the singular *venturum*. They
are perhaps a gloss on *tecum*.

1. *Lepidus, tuus adfinis*] cp. 790, 2.
meus familiaris] 'my (quondam)
friend': cp. 792, 2, *Antonius, noster*
familiaris.

ad sanitatem redeundi] 'of returning
to their senses.' *Sanus* and *insanus* are
occasionally contrasted as referring to loyal
and disloyal conduct: cp. Att. ix. 7, 3
(362), *mihi etiam Caesaris (litterae) ad eos*
sana mente scriptas, quomodo in tanta in-

sania: cp. 791, 3, *furorem*.

scribebam . . . erat] epistolary tense.

levitate] 'want of principle.'

sine capite] 'without definite source.'
Andr. refers to Planc. 57, *si quid sine*
capite manabit aut quid erit eiusmodi ut
non exstet auctor: cp. Planc. 18. For
these unauthenticated rumours cp. 898, 2;
904, 1.

2. *litteris tuis*] i.e. 856, written from
Syria on May 7th. It thus took about
fifty days to reach Rome.

titubatum] 'if there was any stumb-
ling'; *niteremur*, 'we should have the
support of,' governed by *ut* before *si*.

in bello, exercitu tuo niteremur. Quem quidem ego exercitum
ibuscumque potuero rebus ornabo: cuius rei tum tempus erit,
m, quid opis rei publicae laturus is exercitus sit aut quid iam
erit, notum esse coeperit; nam adhuc tantum conatus audiu-
r, optimi illi quidem et praeclarissimi, sed gesta res exspectatur:
am quidem aut iam esse aliquam aut appropinquare confido.
Tua virtute magnitudine animi nihil est nobilius. Itaque
camus, ut quam primum te in Italia videamus. Rem publicam
s habere arbitrabimur, si vos habebimus. Praeclare viceramus,
i spoliatum, inermem, fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium.
que numquam tanto odio civitati Antonius fuit quanto est
pidus. Ille enim ex turbulenta re publica, hic ex pace et
toria bellum excitavit. Huic oppositos consules designatos
bemus: in quibus est magna illa quidem spes, sed anceps cura
propter incertos exitus proeliorum. 4. Persuade tibi igitur in te
in Bruto tuo esse omnia, vos exspectari, Brutum quidem iam
aque. Quod si, ut spero, victis hostibus nostris veneritis, tamen
etoritate vestra res publica exsurget et in aliquo statu tolerabili
asistet. Sunt enim permulta, quibus erit medendum, etiam si
e publica satis esse videbitur sceleribus hostium liberata. Vale.

DCCCCXI. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS (FAM. X. 29).

ROME; JULY 6; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero consolatur Appium exulantem et eum bona spe esse iubet.

CICERO APPIO SAL.

De meo studio erga salutem et incolumitatem tuam credo te cognosce ex litteris tuorum, quibus me cumulatissime satis fecisse certo scio: nec iis concedo, quamquam sunt singulari in te benevolentia, ut te saluum malint quam ego. Illi mihi necesse est concedant, ut tibi plus quam ipsi hoc tempore prodesse possim: quod quidem nec destiti facere nec desistam, et iam in maxima re feci et fundamenta ieci salutis tuae. Tu fac bono animo magnoque sis meque tibi nulla re defuturum esse confidas. Pridie Nonas Quinctiles.

DCCCCXII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 22).

ROME; JULY 6; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto commendat App. Claudium, qui cum M. Antonio se coniunxerat, ut ex hostium numero eximatur.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO.

1. Cum Appio Claudio C. F. summa mihi necessitudo est multis eius officiis et meis mutuis constituta. Peto a te maiorem

Probably 912 was sent with this letter: cp. introductory note to that letter. For Appius Claudius cp. 912, 1.

incolumitatem] 'restoration': cp. note to 885, 1.

hoc tempore] Cicero was recognized at this time as the head of the constitutional party.

fecit et] Gitlbauer (p. 263) needlessly wishes to eject these words.

in maxima re] 'in the most essential

matter,' i.e. as regards his not losing his citizenship: cp. 912, 2.

It is probable that this letter was despatched on July 6th by the messenger who brought Cicero's letter to Appius (911): cp. the letter recommending Caecina to Furfanius, which was sent at the same time as the letter to Caecina (527, 528).

1. *Appio Claudio*] He was son of Gaius

modum vel humanitatis tuae vel mea causa, ut eum auctoritate
 a, quae plurimum valet, conservatum velis. Volo te, cum for-
 simus vir cognitus sis, etiam clementissimum existimari. Magno
 i erit ornamento nobilissimum adolescentem beneficio tuo esse
 vum; cuius quidem causa hoc melior debet esse, quod pietate
 ductus propter patris restitutionem se cum Antonio coniunxit.
 Qua re etsi minus veram causam habebis, tamen vel proba-
 em aliquam poteris inducere. Nutus tuus potest hominem
 nmo loco natum, summo ingenio, summa virtute, officiosissi-
 um praeterea et gratissimum, incolumem in civitate retinere.
 od ut facias, ita a te peto, ut maiore studio magisque ex animo
 tere non possim.

DCCCCXIII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 14).

ROME; JULY 11; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero paucitatem et brevitatem epistolarum Bruti accusat: rogat ut, Ciceronem

Et requiris meas: quis umquam ad te tuorum sine meis venit? quae autem epistola non pondus habuit? quae si ad te perlatae non sunt, ne domesticas quidem tuas perlatas arbitror. Ciceroni scribis te longiorem daturum epistolam: recte id quidem, sed haec quoque debuit esse plenior. Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios litterasque ad Ciceronem, ut, etiamsi in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret; nihil enim mihi iucundius, nihil illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram sacerdotum comitia mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse reiecta—quod ego cum Ciceronis causa elaboravi, tum Domitii, Catonis, Lentuli, Bibulorum, quod ad te etiam scripseram—: sed videlicet, cum illam pusillam epistolam tuam ad me dabas, nondum erat tibi id notum. 2. Quare omni studio a te, mi Brute, contendo, ut Ciceronem meum ne dimittas tecumque deducas, quod ipsum, si rem publicam, cui susceptus es, respicis,

written nothing rather.' For this use of the plupf. subj., cp. our note to Att. ii. 1, 3 (27), *ne poposcisses*; also Dr. Reid on Sull. 26, and Dr. Holden on Sest. 45, who calls this subjunctive the past jussive.

pondus] 'weighty matter': cp. Att. xiv. 14, 1 (719), *accepi tuas litteras et magni quidem ponderis*; i. 13, 1 (19), *epistolam paullo graviorem*; Fam. ii. 19, 2 (262), *tuas litteras . . . maximi sunt apud me ponderis*.

de Ciceronis abs te discessu] This may mean 'concerning my son's intended departure from you, and does not necessarily imply that he had actually departed when Brutus wrote the letter which Cicero is answering. As an excuse for the brevity of his letter, Brutus said something like this, 'Your son will be leaving me shortly, and I shall give him a longer letter.' But Brutus did not say *when* young Cicero was leaving; and, accordingly, the elder Cicero, knowing that the comitia were postponed, made haste to stop his son's return, if possible, before he reached Italy. The route along the Egnatian Way, and across from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium was the regular one used by travellers, so that there was every probability that Cicero's letter-carriers would meet his son. The reason why Cicero wished his son to remain with Brutus was that he would occupy a more distinguished position in coming back to Italy with his commander-in-

chief than by himself, especially as Brutus would have a sort of triumphal return.

litterasque] *sc. dedi*: cp. Att. xii. 38, 1 (681).

sacerdotum comitia] cp. note to 852, 3. *quod . . . elaboravi*] There is no other example quoted in the dictionaries of *elaborare* used in the active with the acc. in writers of the Ciceronian age; but the passive is frequently found, Att. i. 8, 1 (5), *quid mihi elaborandum sit*; Phil. vii. 7, *omne enim curriculum . . . elaboratum est*; Leg. Man. 1, Cael. 54. For the neuter Becher compares Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527), *quid tibi sim auctor*; N. D. i. 31, *eadem fere peccat*.

Domitii . . . Bibulorum] cp. note to 868, 2. Cato was son of Cato of Utica. We are not sure what Lentulus is referred to. For the Bibuli cp. note to 868, 1.

quod ad te etiam scripseram] This letter must have been lost: it is not in the collection.

2. *deducas*] The force of *de-* appears to be the same as in *deportare* *καρδύειν*, to bring home from the provinces: cp. Leg. Manil. 61. Becher, with some hesitation, proposes <*exercitumque*> *tecum deducas*.

cui susceptus es] 'for whose welfare you have been born and reared': cp. Verr. iii. 161, *susceperas enim liberos non solum tibi sed etiam patriae*. For *suscipi*, the passive, in the sense of 'being reared,' cp. Att. xi. 9, 3 (423).

DCCCCXIII. (BRUT. I. 14).

iam iamque faciendum est: renatum enim bellum est, idque parvum scelere Lepidi; exercitus autem Caesaris, qui erat imus, non modo nihil prodest, sed etiam cogit exercitum tuum flagitari, qui si Italiam attigerit, erit civis nemo, quem quidem em appellari fas sit, qui se non in tua castra conferat; etsi utrumque praeclare cum Planco coniunctum habemus, sed non moras, quam sint incerti et animi hominum infecti partibus et exitus proeliorum. Quin etiam, si, ut spero, vicerimus, tamen magnam gubernationem tui consilii tuaeque auctoritatis res desiderabit: subveni igitur, per deos, idque quam primum, tibi que suade non te Idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem a tuis civibus depulisti, plus profuisse patriae quam, si mature veneris, profuturum. v. Idus Quinctiles.

renatum] cp. 886, 3, sed bellum istud tuum mirantur homines.

exercitus autem Caesaris . . . flagitari] In July the army of Octavian appears to have exhibited a tendency to put pressure on the government, and to insist that their general should be elected consul, but the peremptory demand of the centurions was most probably not

defending the measures taken by the senate against Lepidus that he did not mention this news in 909.

partibus] 'party spirit': cp. Sall. Cat. 4, 2, quod mihi a spe metu partibus rei p. animus liber erat.

Quin . . . desiderabit] cp. 910, 4 (to Cassius).

depulisti] So Ern. for repulisti. The two

DCCCCXIV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 15).

ROME; BETWEEN JULY 11 AND 27; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero Messallam mirifice laudat, et reprehensionem nimiae in tribuendis honoribus facilitatis, in poenis autem decernendis severitatis accurate diluit.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Messallam habes: quibus igitur litteris tam accurate scriptis assequi possum, subtilius ut explicem, quae gerantur quaeque sint in re publica, quam tibi is exponet, qui et optime omnia novit et elegantissime expedire et deferre ad te potest? cave enim exis-

This letter was written after July 11th (the date of 913), and before the 27th (the date of 915), on which day Cicero had an interview with Servilia; for he makes no mention of that interview in this long letter. It is not to be considered as merely an answer to 857 (of May 15th). Doubtless Brutus had been writing to several friends at Rome, complaining of Cicero's general policy towards Octavian, and Cicero felt bound to write a formal justification. Perhaps even, as Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 122) suggests, this letter was written before the receipt of Brutus's letter of July 1 (908), cp. 915, 6, that is, before July 15.

Messalla, who was one of the fellow-students of young Cicero at Athens, was on intimate terms with Cicero, cp. Att. xvi. 16A, 5 (767), and was accordingly entrusted with this political letter, which opened with an introduction of Messalla to Brutus. Once having become acquainted with Brutus, Messalla could be regarded by him somewhat in the light of an ambassador, and could support and advance the case already urged by Cicero. This letter then is something more than a mere *epistola commendaticia*. That Cicero was intending to give Messalla a letter of some importance to convey to Brutus is probable, cp. 909, 1, *etsi daturus eram Messallas Corvino continuo litteras*, as he would hardly speak in these terms of a mere letter of introduction.

For another example of an *epistola commendaticia* which develops into a political document cp. Fam. i. 8 (119), where the bearer, Plaetorius, probably played much the same part as Messalla does here. Another letter of introduction, which goes on to treat of other matters, is Fam. xiii. 77 (638).

1. *Messallam habes*] 'Messalla is now with you': cp. Att. ii. 22, 4 (49), *si te habeo*; xiii. 9, 1 (623), *cum haberem Dolabellam*. A chronological difficulty is caused by the fact that Appian (iv. 38) appears to imply that Messalla did not leave Rome for the camp of Brutus until the proscriptions had been already set on foot. But what Appian is interested in relating is that Messalla was one of those who were proscribed, who escaped death, and who afterwards were advanced to honours: he was not careful to be strictly accurate as to the exact date on which Messalla repaired to the camp of Brutus.

quibus igitur . . . potest] 'by what letters of mine, be they ever so carefully composed, can I succeed in describing with more minute accuracy the course and situation of affairs in the political world than his narrative will give? He has the most thorough knowledge of everything, and can set it forth and relate it to you in the most perfect style.' For *tam* in this sense Becher compares Att. viii. 4, 2 (335), *numquam reo cuiquam tam humili . . . tam praecise negavi quam hio mihi*

DCCCCXIV. (BRUT. I. 15).

, Brute—quamquam non necesse est ea me ad te, quae tibi sunt, scribere, sed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellen- non queo silentio praeterire—, cave putes probitate constantia, studio rei publicae quidquam illi esse simile, ut eloquentia, mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere tur, quamquam in hac ipsa sapientia plus apparet: ita gravi o multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi; autem industria est tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non ma ingenio, quod in eo summum est, gratia habenda videat- 2. Sed provehor amore: non enim id propositum est huic lae, Messallam ut laudem, praesertim ad Brutum, cui et illius non minus quam mihi nota est et haec ipsa studia, laudo, notiora; quem cum a me dimittens graviter ferrem, evabar uno, quod ad te tamquam ad alterum me proficiscens icio fungebatur et laudem maximam sequebatur. Sed haec nus. 3. Venio nunc longo sane intervallo ad quandam olam, qua mihi multa tribuens unum reprehendebas, quod in ribus decernendis essem nimius et tamquam prodigus. Tu alius fortasse, quod in animadversione poenaeque durior, nisi

forte utrumque tu; quod si ita est, utriusque rei meum iudicium studeo tibi esse notissimum, neque solum, ut Solonis dictum usurpem, qui et sapientissimus fuit ex septem et legum scriptor solus ex septem: is rem publicam contineri duabus rebus dixit, praemio et poena; est scilicet utriusque rei modus, sicut reliquarum, et quaedam in utroque genere mediocritas. Sed non tanta de re propositum est hoc loco disputare. 4. Quid ego autem secutus hoc bello sim in sententiis dicendis, aperire non alienum puto. Post interitum Caesaris et vestras memorabiles Idus Mart., Brute, quid ego praetermissum a vobis quantamque impendere rei publicae tempestatem dixerim, non es oblitus: magna pestis erit depulsa per vos, magna populi Romani macula deleta, vobis veropars divina gloria, sed instrumentum regni delatum ad Lepidum et Antonium, quorum alter inconstantior, alter impurior, uterque

from the previous sentence. Meyer (p. 129) notices the number of ellipses in this sentence and in § 10.

forte] The mss give *fortasse*; but that word cannot be used after *si* or *nisi* (Antibarbar. i^o. 551). The corruption arose either from the proximity of *fortasse* in the line before, or possibly *essem* was originally written after *durior*, and somehow was transposed out of its proper place, and made to follow *forte*.

neque solum] It is difficult to suggest any reasonable correction for this sentence. If we could suppose that *facere* fell out after *solum*, all would be right; but we cannot see any reason why the word should have been lost. Commentators generally regard the sentence as an anacoluthon, the clause with *sed etiam* having been omitted.

usurpem] 'to adopt': cp. Att. vii. 2, 8 (293), *usurpavi vetus illud Drusi*. Dr. Reid, on Lael. 28, says, 'The word properly means (*usu-rip-are* = to seize on for use) "to constantly put a thing in practice," or of thoughts, "to con over."' Cicero might simply have appealed to Solon's judgment, but he preferred to set forth at length his own opinion on the question.

qui . . . septem] 'who was not only the wisest theoretical philosopher of the Seven Wise Men, but was also the only one of them who was a practical legislator.' M² has *sapiens unus*, which Becher wishes to read, comparing Lael. 59, a

Bianto qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; and he might appeal to the Dresdensis, which has *sapiens unus*. But it is better to adhere to the reading of M¹, as it makes the sentence stronger, and balances *legum scriptor solus* better than the reading of M² does.

is . . . poena] cp. Fam. i. 9, 18 (153), where a similar sentiment is attributed to Plato, *cumque populum Atheniensem nec persuadendo nec nisi cogendo regi posse videret*. For appeals to the conduct of statesmen of the old time, cp. the reference to Solon and Themistocles, Att. x. 1, 2 (378): and to Themistocles, x. 8, 4, 7 (392); vii. 3, 11 (304); ix. 10, 2 (365). We may add, to Agamemnon and Nestor in Fam. ix. 14, 2 (722).

mediocritas] 'moderation,' 'mean': cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 10, 6, *Auream quisque mediocritatem Diligit*.

4. *Post interitum*] As the reference in this clause is to Cicero's often-expressed opinion that Antony ought to have been slain with Caesar, we must take *post* with *dixerim*, not with *praetermissum*. Schmidt, however, thinks (Jahrb. 1884, p. 636) that it may refer to the indulgence shown by the conspirators to Lepidus, to their neglect to summon the senate to the Capitol on March 16, and to the sin of omission committed by D. Brutus in not bringing his troops to Rome in April, 710 (44), when Antony had left the city: cp. Att. xv. 11, 2 (744), and Schmidt, Die letzten Kämpfe i. 713.

DCCCCXIV. (BRUT. I. 15).

in metuens, inimicus otio; his ardentibus perturbandae rei
 icae cupiditate quod opponi posset praesidium, non habeba-
 —erexerat enim se civitas in retinenda libertate consentiens,
 os tum nimis acres, vos fortasse sapientius excessistis urbe ea,
 in liberaratis, Italiae sua vobis studia profitenti remisistis.
 ne, cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem nec te in ea nec
 tum tuto esse posse eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio,
 quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi—tetrum enim spectacu-
 oppressa ab impiis civitas opitulandi potestate praecisa—;
 animus idem, qui semper, infixus in patriae caritate discessum
 ius periculis ferre non potuit. Itaque in medio Achaico
 a, cum etesiarum diebus Auster me in Italiam quasi dissuasor
 consilii rettulisset, te vidi Veliae doluique vehementer, cede-
 enim, Brute, cedebas—quoniam Stoici nostri negant fugere
 ntes—; 6. Romam ut veni, statim me obtuli Antonii sceleri
 e dementiae, quem cum in me incitavissem, consilia inire

inimicus otio] cp. Att. xiv. 21, 2, 4
 timere otium.
 erat . . . consentiens] In order to
 in enim, a simple course to adopt

find an exact parallel for this expression ;
 but Phil. xiv. 3 (quoted by Meyer), *qui*
omnes suas curas in rei p. salute defigunt
 is almost similar; for *caritas* can be viewed

coepi Brutina plane—vestri enim haec sunt propria sanguinis—rei publicae liberandae. Longa sunt, quae restant, *et* praetereunda, sunt enim de me : tantum dico, Caesarem hunc adolescentem, per quem adhuc sumus, si verum fateri volumus, fluxisse ex fonte consiliorum meorum. 7. Huic habiti a me honores, nulli quidem, Brute, nisi debiti, nulli nisi necessari; ut enim primum libertatem revocare coepimus, cum se nondum ne Decimi quidem Bruti divina virtus ita commovisset, ut iam id scire possemus, atque omne praesidium esset in pueri, qui a cervicibus nostris avertisset Antonium, quis honos ei non fuit decernendus? quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam; decrevi etiam imperium, quod quamquam videbatur illi aetati honorificum, tamen erat exercitum habenti necessarium, quid enim est sine imperio exercitus? Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post maiorem etiam Servilius :

et praetereunda] The insertion of *et* is due to Wesenberg, and is sanctioned by Becher.

fluxisse ex fonte consiliorum meorum] 'is a stream which derives its source from my advice.' For equally strong metaphors of 'flowing,' cp. Nägelsbach, 469.

7. *divina virtus*] It is hard to believe, with Ruete (p. 113) and Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 184), that this is ironical. No doubt Cicero does sometimes censure D. Brutus, Att. xv. 4, 1 (734); 897, 2; but these passages would not justify such bitter sarcasm as *divina virtus* used ironically; nor could Cicero have said in § 8, *atque illo die cognovi haud paullo plures in senatu malevolos esse quam gratos*, if he had a very contemptuous opinion of the services of D. Brutus; and it would be too glaringly inconsistent with the tone of Cicero's letters to him. Whatever may have been the faults of D. Brutus, he had stood firmly for the cause of the state. He was perhaps the least inefficient soldier of all the senatorial generals.

se . . . commovisset] 'had stirred itself.' For this use of *commovere* with an impersonal subject personified, Becher compares Mil. 85, *religiones mehercule ipsae . . . commosse se videntur*; Lucr. iv. 886, *ergo animus cum sese ita commovet ut velit ire*.

id] i.e. *nos libertatem revocasse*. For *id* referring to a preceding clause, cp.

Reid on Senect. 8; so that there is no need to read with Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 184), *ut iam quid (Paliquid) sperare possemus*, nor his later conjecture (Jahrb. 1890, p. 135), *ut iam respirare possemus*, comparing Att. ii. 24, 5 (51); x. 1, 1 (378).

decrevi . . . exercitus] cp. Phil. v. 45, *Demus igitur imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest: sit pro praetore eo iure quo qui optimo: qui honos quamquam est magnus illa aetate, tamen ad necessitatem rerum gerendarum, non solum ad dignitatem valet*.

primo Servius post . . . Servilius] It might seem from Phil. v. 46, that the proposals referred to were Cicero's own; but when we remember that Servilius was on other occasions in 711 (43) asked his opinion before Cicero (Phil. vii. 27; xiv. 11), we may readily suppose that such was also the case on January 1; and that, as Cicero had made a long speech on that occasion, he, in regular fashion, concluded it by once more stating the motion which had been already made by Servius Sulpicius and Servilius: see Cobet, p. 289. Probably whenever a senator spoke to his opinion, and did not merely express his assent to a motion already made, he was at liberty, if he pleased, to conclude his speech by again reading the motion in full.

DCCCCXIV. (BRUT. I. 15).

l tum nimium videbatur. 8. Sed nescio quo modo *homines* ius in timore benigni quam in victoria grati reperiuntur : ego n, D. Bruto liberato cum laetissimus ille civitati dies illuxisset inque casu Bruti natalis esset, decrevi, ut in fastis ad eum diem ti nomen ascriberetur, in eoque sum maiorum exemplum tus, qui hunc honorem mulieri Larentiae tribuerunt, cuius vos ifices ad aram in Velabro sacrificium facere soletis, quod ego dabam Bruto, notam esse in fastis gratissimae victoriae pitemnam volebam ; atqui illo die cognovi paullo plures in tu malevolos esse quam gratos. Eos per ipsos dies effudi ita vis—honores in mortuos, Hirtium et Pansam, Aquilam n, quod quis reprehendit, nisi qui deposito metu praeteriti culi fuerit oblitus ? 9. Accedebat ad beneficii memoriam am ratio illa, quae etiam posteris esset salutaris : exstare enim bam in crudelissimos hostes monumenta odii publici sempi-

homines] Cobet inserts this word, arising 864, 8.
issimus ille . . . dies] i.e. the day on the news of the Battle of Mutina reached Rome (April 26 or 27) : cp. 886.

facere can be used by itself in the signification of 'to perform a sacrifice,' cp. Att. i. 12, 3 (17) ; Mur. 90 ; Liv. x. 42, 7, yet there is no sufficient reason, with Manutius and Becher, to suppose that *sacrificium*

terna. Suspicio illud tibi minus probari, quod a tuis familiaribus, optimis illis quidem viris, sed in re publica rudibus, non probabatur, quod, ut ovari introire Caesari liceret, decreverim; ego autem—sed erro fortasse, nec tamen is sum, ut mea me maxime delectent—nihil mihi videor hoc bello sensisse prudentius; cur autem ita sit, aperiendum non est, ne magis videar providus fuisse quam gratus: [hoc ipsum nimium,] quare alia videamus. D. Bruto decrevi honores, decrevi L. Planco: praeclara illa quidem ingenia, quae gloria invitantur, sed senatus etiam sapiens, qui, qua quemque re putat, modo honesta, ad rem publicam iuvandam posse adduci, hac utitur. At in Lepido reprehendimur, cui cum statuam in rostris statuissimus, iidem illam evertimus: nos illum honore studuimus a furore revocare; vicit amentia levissimi hominis nostram prudentiam, nec tamen tantum in statuenda Lepidi statua factum est mali, quantum in evertenda boni. 10. Satis multa de honoribus: nunc de poena pauca dicenda sunt; intellexi enim ex tuis saepe litteris te in iis, quos bello deviciisti, clementiam tuam velle laudari. Existimo equidem nihil a te nisi

familiaribus] Probably Casca was one of these: cp. 865, 1. The separate party of adherents of Brutus is also mentioned in 916, 1.

quod . . . decreverim] This is the virtual oblique subjunctive after the verb of censure.

ovanti] cp. 865, 2, where Brutus says that a triumph was granted to Octavian. But, as Ruete (p. 99) points out, an *ovatio* was often called a triumph: cp. Mon. Ancy. i. 21, *bis ovans triumphavi tris egi curules triumphos*; and the Greek expression for an *oratio* is *πρὸς θύλακας* (Dionys. ix. 36; Marquardt iii. 671). Livy, Epit. 119, thinks that the senate showed little gratitude to Octavian in granting him only this secondary honour.

hoc ipsum nimium] We venture to think that this is a gloss of a reader who wished to express the just opinion that the preceding statement of Cicero was too highly coloured. If the words were Cicero's own we should probably have some qualification added like *sed fortasse*.

praeclara] Ruete supposes that this word, as well as *divina virtus* in § 7, is ironical, with which opinion we cannot agree. Cicero means that D. Brutus and

Plancus are noble souls, who are influenced by love of renown, and not by any selfish considerations: fame is that last infirmity of a noble mind. And not only are they athirst for fame, which itself is in some measure a reason why the honours should be granted them, but the senate too is acting wisely in acceding to their wishes, and adopting all honourable means whereby anyone can be induced to do good service to the state.

quae gloria invitantur] cp. Lig. 12, *praemiis etiam invitabat*; 834, 2, *is autem qui vere appellari potest honos non invitamentum ad tempus sed perfectae virtutis est praemium*.

evertimus] This was done by the decree of June 30, which declared Lepidus a public enemy: cp. 910, 1.

10. *saepe*] For attributive adverbs cp. N. D. ii. 166, *deorum saepe praesentiae*, on which Professor Mayor quotes Ter. Andr. i. 2, 4, *eri semper lenitas*; Plaut. Pers. iii. 1, 57, *non tu nunc hominum mores vides*. Becher compares 864, 3, *unius viz etiam nunc viri*; 916, 3, *pro adolescentulo ac pueri puero*. Add *Sest. 93* and *Off. ii. 20*, where Dr. Holden quotes 1 Tim. v. 23, 'Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.' We

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enter; sed sceleris poenam praetermittere—id enim est, quod
tur ignoscere—, etiamsi in ceteris rebus tolerabile est, in hoc
o perniciosum puto: nullum enim bellum civile fuit in nostra
blica omnium, quae memoria mea fuerunt, in quo bello non,
cumque pars vicisset, tamen aliqua forma esset futura rei
icae; hoc bello victores quam rem publicam simus habituri,
facile affirmarim, victis certe nulla umquam erit. Dixi igitur
entias in Antonium, dixi in Lepidum severas, neque tam
cendi causa, quam ut et in praesens sceleratos cives timore ab
agnanda patria deterrerem et in posterum documentum statu-
t, ne quis talem amentiam vellet imitari. 11. Quamquam
quidem sententia non magis mea fuit quam omnium, in qua
tur illud esse crudele, quod ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt,
a pervenit; sed id et antiquum est et omnium civitatum, si
em etiam Themistocli liberi eguerunt, et, si iudicio damnatos
m poena sequitur cives, qui potuimus leniores esse in hostes?
autem queri quisquam potest de me, qui, si vicisset, acerbio-
se in me futurum fuisse confiteatur necesse est? Habes
nem mearum sententiarum de hoc genere dumtaxat honoris

quam primum. Summa est exspectatio tui; quod si Italiam attigeris, ad te concursus fiet omnium: sive enim vicerimus—qui quidem pulcherrime viceramus, nisi Lepidus perdere omnia et perire ipse cum suis concupivisset—, tua nobis auctoritate opus est ad collocandum aliquem civitatis statum; sive etiam nunc certamen reliquum est, maxima spes est cum in auctoritate tua, tum in exercitus tui viribus. Sed propera, per deos! scis, quantum sit in temporibus, quantum in celeritate. 13. Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris et ex sororis litteris cogniturum: qua in causa maiorem habeo rationem tuæ voluntatis, quæ mihi carissima est, quam, ut quibusdam videor, constantiæ meæ; sed ego nulla in re malo quam in te amando constans et esse et videri.

DCCCCXV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 18).

ROME; JULY 27; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero scribit de exercitus in Italiam adducendi necessitate, de sollicitudine sua in retinendo Octavio pro quo sponderat pop. Romano, de rei pecuniariæ difficultate, et de Lepidi filiis.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Cum sæpe te litteris hortatus essem, ut quam primum rei publicæ subvenires in Italiamque exercitum adduceres, neque id arbitrarer dubitare tuos necessarios, rogatus sum a prudentissima et diligentissima femina, matre tua, cuius omnes curæ ad te referuntur et in te consumuntur, ut venirem ad se a. d. VIII. Kal.

vicerimus] cp. 910, 3, and note.
in auctoritate] *in* was added by Cobet.
 It is also found in some mss, e.g. Dresden.

13. *Sororis tuæ*] She was the wife of Lepidus. This connexion between the families of Brutus and Lepidus is the reason why Cicero is so anxious to justify to Brutus his treatment of Lepidus. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 133) finally says:—‘At the end of this long letter, Cicero’s warm heart makes him forget all irritation at the “three-line-letter” of Brutus, all contention about Octavian:

the most heart-felt words spring to his lips, as if he could thereby warm the cold, calculating mind of his friend, and by the power of his strong feeling carry the other away with him.’ Schmidt has done more than anyone else to put the characters of Cicero and Brutus in the right light.

1. *sæpe*] Meyer (p. 19) quotes a large number of similar exhortations, 897, 1, 4, 5; 902, 3; 909, 2, 3; 913, 2; 914, 12.
matre tuæ] Servilia.

DCCCCXV. (BRUT. I. 18).

iles : quod ego, ut debui, sine mora feci ; cum autem venissem, a aderat et Labeo et Scaptius. At illa rettulit quaesivitque, nam mihi videretur, arcesseremusne te atque id tibi conducere remus an tardare ac commorari te melius esset. 2. Respondi quod sentiebam, et dignitati et existimationi tuae maxime nocere te primo quoque tempore ferre praesidium labenti et natae paene rei publicae ; quid enim abesse censes mali in eo, in quo victores exercitus fugientem hostem persequi nolueret in quo incolumis imperator, honoribus amplissimis fortunis maximis, coniuge, liberis, vobis affinibus ornatus, bellum rei publicae indixerit ? Quid dicam 'in tanto senatus populique consensu,' cum tantum resideat intra muros mali ? 3. Maximo enim, cum haec scribebam, afficiebar dolore, quod, cum me pro escentulo ac paene puero res publica accepisset vadem, vix haberem, quod promiseram, praestare posse ; est autem gravior et periculosior animi et sententiae, maximis praesertim in rebus, pro puero quam pecuniae obligatio : haec enim solvi potest et est rei publicae iactura tolerabilis ; rei publicae quod spoponderis, quemmodum solvas, nisi is dependi facile patitur, pro quo spoponde-

ris? 4. Quamquam et hunc, ut spero, tenebo multis repugnantibus: videtur enim esse *in eo* indoles, sed flexibilis aetas multique ad depravandum parati, qui splendore falsi honoris obiecto aciem boni ingenii praestringi posse confidunt. Itaque ad reliquos hic quoque labor mihi accessit, ut omnes adhibeam machinas ad tenendum adolescentem, ne famam subeam temeritatis: quamquam quae temeritas est? Magis enim illum, pro quo spopondi, quam me ipsum obligavi, nec vero paenitere potest rem publicam me pro eo spopondisse, qui fuit in rebus gerundis cum suo ingenio, tum mea promissione constantior. 5. Maximus autem, nisi me forte fallit, in re publica nodus est inopia rei pecuniariae: obdurescunt enim magis quotidie boni viri ad vocem tributi, quod ex centesima collatum impudenti censu locupletium in duarum legionum praemiis omne consumitur; impendent autem infiniti sumptus cum in hos exercitus, quibus nunc defendimur, tum vero in tuum—nam Cassius noster videtur posse satis ornatus venire. Sed et haec et multa alia coram cupio, idque quam primum. 6. De sororis tuae filiis non exspectavi, Brute, dum scriberes: omnino ipsa tempora—bellum enim ducetur—integram tibi causam reservant; sed ego a principio, cum divinare de belli diuturnitate non

4. *indoles*] 'he seems to have character.' There is no need to add an adjective, such as *bona*, or *praecleara*: cp. note to Att. x. 12 b, 7 (398); Plaut. Rud. ii. 4, 10, *quas indoles in savio*; Liv. i. 3, 1, *tanta indoles in Lavinia erat*. We have added *in eo*, with the old editors.

aciem boni ingenii] 'the keen perception of his loyal nature.'

machinas] cp. Plaut. Mil. iii. 2, 1, *quantas moveo machinas*.

paenitere . . . rem publicam me] The accusative and infinitive after *paenitere* is rare. We do not know of any other example in Cicero, except *Sest. 96*, quoted by Meyer, who justly says that it is not an exact parallel, as the subject is *se*.

5. *obdurescunt*] 'have grown callous to': cp. Att. xiii. 2, 1 (802), *sed iam ad ista obduruimus*; Fam. ii. 16, 1 (394). *obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum*. But this expression is somewhat harsh with *ad vocem*; so that we feel strongly inclined to read with Manutius, *obdurescunt*, a good Ciceronian word: cp. Lael. 88.

quod ex centesima . . . locupletium] In Dio Cass. xlv. 31, 3, the taxes stated to have been raised at this time were 4 p. c. income tax, and 2½ sesterces on each *tegula*. Owing to the fraudulent returns of income made by the rich, the amount of money raised sufficed only to pay the rewards promised to two legions. Madvig puts a long stop after *tributi*, and supplies *est* after *collatum*: he also suggests *consensu* for *censu*. These alterations improve the passage, but are not absolutely required.

6. *non exspectavi . . . dum scriberes*] It would appear that Cicero discharged all his vindictive feelings against the children of Lepidus by writing 909; and that before he received 908 (dated July 11) he took measures to ensure their safety, knowing, as he did, how deeply anxious their uncle, Brutus, would be that they should not suffer for the sins of their father.

integram tibi causam reservant] 'the very course of events is keeping the case open for settlement by you': cp. 893, 6.

DCCCCXVI. (FAM. X. 24).

em, ita causam egi puerorum in senatu, ut te arbitror e matris
is potuisse cognoscere, nec vero ulla res erit umquam, in qua
non vel vitae periculo ea dicam eaque faciam, quae te velle
que ad te pertinere arbitrer. VI. Kal. Sextiles.

DCCCCXVI. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 24).

IMP IN GAUL; JULY 28; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Plancus M. Ciceroni memorem se beneficiorum fore pollicetur, suas copias
, subsidium exercitus poscit, Octavianum carpit.

PLANCUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. CICERONI.

. Facere non possum quin in singulas res meritaque tua tibi
as agam. Sed mehercule facio cum pudore. Neque enim
a necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, desiderare
tur gratiarum actionem neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis
ficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis, et malo praesens

dignitatis in perpetuum an voluptatis cotidie sit adlaturus non facile dixerim. 2. De militum commodis fuit tibi curae: quos ego non potentiae meae causa—nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio—ornari volui a senatu, sed primum quod ita meritos iudicabam, deinde quod ad omnes casus coniunctiores rei publicae esse volebam, novissime ut ab omni omnium sollicitatione aversos eos tales vobis praestare possem, quales adhuc fuerunt. 3. Nos adhuc hic omnia integra sustinuimus. Quod consilium nostrum etsi quanta sit aviditas hominum non sine causa talis victoriae scio, tamen vobis probari spero. Non enim, si quid in his exercitiis sit offensum, magna subsidia res publica habet expedita, quibus subito impetu ac latrocinio parricidarum resistat. Copias

adlaturus] The predicate is made to agree with *amor*, the most important word in the sentence: cp. § 6, *Quae mens eum aut quorum consilia . . . avocarit . . . transulerit*; also 861, 5, and note; Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 66, *Ipse meique . . . escor*.

2. *De militum commodis fuit tibi curae*] For this impersonal construction cp. Att. vii. 5, 2 (296), *De Tirone video tibi curas esse*; 787, 1, and note; 883, 4. For *commoda* = 'interests,' cp. Fam. xi. 2, 3 (740); Tac. Ann. i. 26. The *commoda* in this case were grants of land. Cicero was himself on the Commission of Ten appointed to distribute the lands: cp. 877, 3; 893, 2.

quos . . . ornari] 'to whom I wished this honour to be paid.'

scio] Nodell and Wesenberg needlessly alter to *scis*.

novissime] This word would not have been used by Cicero for 'lastly.' Cicero uses *novissimus* only once (Rosc. Com. 30); D. Brutus uses it often, cp. Fam. xi. 1, 3, 4, 6.

ut . . . fuerunt] 'that they might be preserved from being tampered with in any way by any one, and that I might be able to present them to you as loyal a body as they have been up to this.' Plancus had already said that his army was being tampered with (833, 3).

3. *Nos . . . sustinuimus*] 'Up to this we have taken no decisive step.' For *omnia integra* cp. 893, 6.

†talis victoriae] So the best mss. Wesenberg adds <belli> from some inferior mss, and understands *talis belli* to mean 'a war such as the present,' i.e.

terrimi periculosissimique, 879, 2. Koch ingeniously reads *fatalis*, which must apparently mean 'such as fate may decide.' Andr. thinks the reference is to a lost letter, and proposes *ut ais*. Lehmann (p. 60) suggests *consularis* (cp. 832, 2), noticing that M¹ has in 908, 2, a somewhat similar error, a *consulari tali viro*. He had previously proposed *capitalis*, 'decisive,' which Mendelssohn regards with favour. Nettleship suggested *alterius* (*aliis* for *talis*), and Giltbauer (pp. 253–5) soars into the realms of fancy with *non sine causa <usa> alis Victoriae*. Rhodius (p. 38, note) thinks that we should read *non sine casu fatali*, 'how eager all are for victory, impelled by the force of fate,' and supposes that Plancus, in order not to offend Cicero, spoke of this eagerness on the part of the men at Rome, and especially Cicero, for a decisive battle (cp. Epp. 853, 858, 879, 884) as being due, not to their calm judgment, but to the force of fate.

offensum] 'reverse.'

subito . . . parricidarum] 'by which he can withstand the sudden rebellious outbreak of these traitors': *impetu* is, doubtless, the dative; indeed, the dative of the fourth declension in *-us* is mostly confined to special expressions, e.g. *receptui canere, usui, derisui esse*, &c. J. H. Schmalz, however (in a review of the 8th edition of Nägelsbach in Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, 1889, p. 1632), holds that *impetu* is ablative, and *resistat* is to be taken absolutely, 'by which, when the traitors make a sudden assault, he may be able to make resistance.'

DCCCXVI. (FAM. X. 24).

nostras notas tibi esse arbitror. In castris meis legiones sunt
 ranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una: in
 is Bruti una veterana legio, altera bima, octo tironum. Ita
 versus exercitus numero amplissimus est, firmitate exiguus.
 ntum autem in acie tironi sit committendum nimium saepe
 rtum habemus. 4. Ad hoc robur nostrorum exercituum sive
 canus exercitus, qui est veteranus, sive Caesaris accessisset,
 o animo summam rem publicam in discrimen deduceremus.
 uanto autem propius esse, quod ad Caesarem attinet, vide-
 us: nihil destiti eum litteris hortari, neque ille intermisit
 mare se sine mora venire: cum interim aversum illum ab
 cogitatione ad alia consilia video se contulisse. Ego tamen ad
 Furnium nostrum cum mandatis litterisque misi, si quid
 e proficere posset. 5. Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod ad Caesaris
 rem attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum, vel quod in familiari-

mitate] 'steadiness' (Watson).
 antum autem . . . committendum]
 the degree of trust to be placed in
 ' In using autem the thoughts of
 us reverted to octo tironum.
 vertum habemus] For expertus, used

903.
 5. Scis tu: . . . possunt] 'You know,
 my dear Cicero, as far as regards love for
 young Caesar, that I share it with you;
 whether because, being an intimate friend
 of Julius Caesar while he was alive, I was

tate Caesaris, vivo illo, iam tueri eum et diligere fuit mihi necesse, vel quod ipse, quoad ego nosse potui, moderatissimi atque humanissimi fuit sensus, vel quod ex tam insigni amicitia mea atque Caesaris hunc filii loco et illius et vestro iudicio substitutum non proinde habere turpe mihi videtur: 6. Sed—quidquid tibi scribo, dolenter mehercule magis quam inimice facio—quod vivit Antonius hodie, quod Lepidus una est, quod exercitus [habent] non contemnendos habent, quod sperant, quod audent, omne Caesari acceptum referre possunt. Neque ego superiora repetam, sed ex eo tempore, quo ipse mihi professus est se venire, si venire voluisset, aut oppressum iam bellum esset aut in aversissimam illis Hispaniam cum detrimento eorum maximo extrusum. Quae mens eum aut quorum consilia a tanta gloria, sibi vero etiam necessaria ac salutari, avocarit et ad cogitationem consulatus bimestris summo cum terrore hominum et insulsa cum efflagitatione transtulerit exputare non possum. 7. Multum in hac re mihi videntur neces-

hominis necessarii; 827, 7, in *damno meae laudis* = *etsi damno meae laudis affectus ero*.

vestro] Octavian could not be formally and legally recognized as Caesar's son until after the curiate law of adoption had been passed; and this law was not passed until Octavian came to Rome in August. But he had been previously acknowledged as Caesar's son by Cicero (Phil. iii. 15, *C. Caesaris filio*; v. 46, *C. Caesar, Gai filius*), though at first Cicero refrained from addressing him as Caesar: cp. Att. xiv. 12, 2 (716), *Octavius, quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non item, itaque ne nos quidem*.

proinde] 'as such.' Andr. compares Columella xi. 2, 68, *nonnulli gustu explorare maturitatem tentaverunt, ut, sive dulcis esset sapor uvae sive acidus, proinde aestimarent*.

6. *facio*] like the auxiliary verb 'do' in English, and *ἔπαρ* (Thucyd. ii. 49, 5): cp. Fin. ii. 79, *vadem te ad mortem tyranno dabis pro amico, ut Pythagoreus ille Siculo fecit tyranno*.

Caesari acceptum referre] The common book-keeping phrase: cp. Att. i. 14, 3 (20); xi. 1, 2 (406); xv. 19, 1 (761).

sed ex eo tempore] There is a slight anacoluthon in this sentence. Plancus had meant to say something like 'from the time Octavian promised to come, if only he had come, from that time we

should have commenced a successful war, which would now be finished'; but he continued the sentence from *aut oppressum*, as if he had not begun with *ex*.

aversissimam] 'most hostile': cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 29, *aversos soliti componere amicos*; Tac. Hist. iv. 80. There is no necessity to read *adversissimam* with Weeenberg.

sibi . . . salutari] 'which, indeed, his own life and safety also require.' Instead of *sibi*, we should have expected *ipsi*.

avocarit] For the singular after *mens* and *consilia*, see note to § 1.

bimestris] This is, of course, an exaggeration, prompted by petulance, 'a couple of months.' It was only July now, so that five months of the year would remain. Octavian was elected on August 19. Manutius proposes *quinquemestris* (= v. *mestris*), of which O. E. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 129) approves. *ii.* and *v.* are constantly interchanged in mss. Lange (R. A. iii. 543, 17) reads *seimestris* (= vi. *mestris*).

summo . . . efflagitatione] 'spreading, too, panic throughout society, and making most fatuous demands.' For the rare word *efflagitatio*, cp. Fam. v. 19, 2 (390). Mr. Jeans translates, 'with a most offensive appearance of demanding.'

exputare] 'fathom,' 'thoroughly probe,' a rare word: cp. Plaut. Trin. ii. 1, 12.

DCCCCXVI. (FAM. X. 24).

si eius et rei publicae et ipsius causa proficere posse, plurimum,
puto, tu quoque, cuius ille tanta merita habet, quanta nemo
eter me: numquam enim obliviscar maxima ac plurima me
debere. De his rebus ut exigeret cum eo, Furnio mandavi.
od si quantam debeo habuero apud eum auctoritatem, pluri-
m ipsum iuvero. 8. Nos interea duriore condicione bellum
tinemus, quod neque expeditissimam dimicationem putamus
ue tamen refugiendo commissuri sumus, ut maius detrimentum
publica accipere possit. Quod si aut Caesar se respexerit aut
ricanae legiones celeriter venerint, securos vos ab hac parte
demus. Tu, ut instituisti, me diligas rogo proprieque tuum
e tibi persuadeas. v. Kal. Sext. ex castris.

necessarii] Probably L. Marcus
ippus, cp. Att. xiv. 12, 2 (715), who
married Octavian's mother Atia, and
Marcellus, cp. xv. 12, 2 (745), consul
64 (50), who had married his sister.
also Phil. iii. 17.
[*ius ille tanta merita habet*] 'from
m he has received greater kindnesses
anyone except myself.' On Jan. 1
ro had proposed that Octavian should
nd vote in the senate among the

xiv. 37).

exigeret] 'that he should have a tho-
rough discussion.' *Exigere* is a strength-
ened *agere*: cp. Plin. Epp. vi. 12, 3;
Quintil. vi. 5, 5.

iuvero] 'he will find that I have
helped him very much.'

8. *expeditissimam*] 'quite free from
danger.'

se respexerit] 'has taken thought for
himself.' 'has considered his own case.'

PART XII.

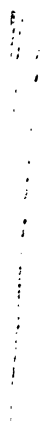
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PART XII.

LETTERS OF UNCERTAIN YEARS.

EPP. DCCCCXVII.-DCCCCXXI.



DCCCCXVII. CICERO TO THE QUATTUORVIRI AND
DECURIONES (FAM. XIII. 76).

ROME ; YEAR AND MONTH UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero a quattuorviris et decurionibus petit, ut C. Valgio Hippiano immunitatem possessionis in agro Fregellano emptae concedant.

M. CICERO QUATTUORVIRIS ET DECURIONIBUS S. D.

1. Tanta mihi cum Q. Hippii causae necessitudinis sunt, ut nihil possit esse coniunctius quam nos inter nos sumus. Quod nisi ita esset, uterer mea consuetudine, ut vobis nulla in re molestus essem. Etenim vos mihi optimi testes estis, cum mihi persuasum esset nihil esse quod a vobis impetrare non possem, numquam me tamen gravem vobis esse voluisse. 2. Vehementer igitur vos etiam atque etiam rogo, ut honoris mei causa quam liberalissime C. Valgium Hippianum tractetis remque cum eo conficiatis, ut, quam possessionem habet in agro Fregellano a vobis emptam, eam liberam et immunem habere possit. Id si a vobis impetraro, summo me beneficio vestro adfectum arbitrabor.

We do not know what was the *municipium* to the magistrates and senate of which Cicero addressed this letter. It was not Fregellae, for after its capture by L. Opimius in 629 (125), it ceased to be a corporate town, and was a mere village: cp. Mommsen in C. I. L. x. p. 547. Perhaps it was Fabrateria, which was, in a measure, a restitution of Fregellae under a new name. The mention of *IVviri* shows that this town was a *municipium*: cp. vol. I², p. 408. O. E. Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 449) places, with hesitation, this letter in the year of Cicero's consulship, 691 (63).

1. Q. Hippii] Probably he was father

of the C. Valgius Hippianus (§ 2) in whose interest this letter was written. The younger Hippius was adopted by a C. Valgius: cp. § 2.

gravem vobis] 'a burden to you.'

2. *immunem*] 'clear of obligations.'

It must be confessed that this is a rather audacious request; but it is interesting, as showing the kind of pressure which was put upon the provincial towns by the magnates of the city. If the conscientious Cicero does not hesitate to make such a request, it is quite certain that the average Roman grandee made really oppressive demands.

adfectum] cp. Leg. Agr. i. 13.

DCCCCXVIII. CICERO TO QUINTIUS GALLUS
(FAM. XIII. 43).

ROME; A. U. C. 696 (P); B. C. 58 (P); AET. CIC. 48 (P).

M. Cicero Quintio Gallo commendat L. Oppium L. Egnatii negotia procurantem.

M. CICERO QUINTIO GALLO.

1. Etsi plurimis rebus spero fore ut perspiciam, quod tamen iam pridem perspicio, me a te amari, tamen ea causa tibi datur, in qua facile declarare possis tuam erga me benevolentiam. L. Oppius M. F. Philomelii negotiatur, homo mihi familiaris. Eum tibi unice commendo eoque magis, quod cum ipsum diligo, tum quod negotia procurat L. Egnatii Rufi, quo ego uno equite Romano familiarissime utor et qui cum consuetudine cotidiana tum officiis plurimis maximisque mihi coniunctus est. 2. Oppium igitur praesentem ut diligas, Egnatii absentis rem ut tueare, aequae a te peto ac si mea negotia essent. Velim memoriae tuae causa des litterarum aliquid, quae tibi in provincia reddantur, sed ita conscribas, ut tum, cum eas leges, facile recordari possis huius meae commendationis diligentiam. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

QUINTIO GALLO] For the reading, see Adn. Crit. This and the three following letters were probably written in the same year. We have letters from Cicero recommending Egnatius and Oppius to Q. Marcius Philippus, governor of some province, probably Asia, Fam. xiii. 73, 74 (165, 128), and to his quaestor, Appuleius (920); and it is probable that Gallus was a legate of Philippus. The year in which Philippus was governor of Asia is uncertain. Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 449) dates this letter 696 (58); Willems (Le Sénat. i. 478) seems to assign the governorship of Philippus to 639 (55) or 700 (54); Hölzl (Fast. Praet. pp. 94-5) puts it as late as 709 (45).

1. *Philomelii*] A town on the road between Synnada and Iconium. In 703 (51) it was an assize-town of the province of Cilicia: cp. Fam. iii. 8, 5, 6 (122). In the time of Pliny (H. N. v. 95) it belonged to Asia.

negotiatur] 'has a banking business.'

Egnatii Rufi] Both Marcus and Quintus Cicero had money dealings with this Egnatius, Att. vii. 18, 4 (316); x. 15, 4 (401); xi. 3, 3 (411); xii. 18, 3 (549).

2. *in provincia*] This shows that the present letter was written to Gallus before he left for his province.

sed ita conscribas] 'written too in such a way.' For this use of *sed* cp. note to Att. xiv. 1, 2 (703).

DCCCCXIX. CICERO TO THE SAME GALLUS

(FAM. XIII. 44).

ROME; A. U. C. 696 (P); B. C. 58 (P); AET. CIC. 48 (P).

M. Cicero Gallo commendat L. Oppium una cum L. Egnatii negotiis.

CICERO GALLO S.

Etsi ex tuis et ex L. Oppii, familiarissimi *mei*, litteris cognovi te memorem commendationis meae fuisse, idque pro tua summa erga me benevolentia proque nostra necessitudine minime sum admiratus, tamen etiam atque etiam tibi L. Oppium praesentem et L. Egnatii, mei familiarissimi, absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris ut is intellegat me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes idque ut facias vehementer te rogo.

DCCCCXX. CICERO TO APPULEIUS (FAM. XIII. 45).

ROME; A. U. C. 696 (P); B. C. 58 (P); AET. CIC. 48 (P).

M. Cicero Appuleio proquaest. Asiae L. Egnatii servum et negotia commendat.

CICERO APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI.

L. Egnatio uno equite Romano vel familiarissime utor. Eius Anchialum servum negotiaque, quae habet in Asia, tibi commendo

commendationis] cp. 918. This letter was written to Gallius after he had reached his province.

si mea res esset] cp. 918, 2. For the order cp. 929.

This Appuleius was pro-quaestor of Q. Marcius Philippus: cp. note to 918. For

pro-quaestor cp. introductory note to 882.

uno] 'Lucius Egnatius is the one Roman knight with whom I am on quite the most friendly relations possible.' Lehmann rightly defends *vel*, which Cratander and Wesenberg wish to eject, by showing that not only in epistolary style,

non minore studio quam si rem meam commendarem. Sic enim existimes velim, mihi cum eo non modo cotidianam consuetudinem summam intercedere, sed etiam officia magna et mutua nostra inter nos esse. Quam ob rem etiam atque etiam a te peto, ut cures ut intellegat me ad te satis diligenter scripsisse: nam de tua erga me voluntate non dubitabat. Id ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

DCCCCXXI. CICERO TO THE SAME APPULEIUS
(FAM. XIII. 46).

ROME; A. U. C. 696 (?); B. C. 58 (?); AET. CIC. 48 (?).

M. Cicero eidem Appuleio L. Nostium Zoilum coheredem suum commendat.

CICERO APPULEIO S.

L. Nostius Zoilus est coheres meus, heres autem patroni sui. Ea re utrumque scripsi, ut et mihi cum illo causam amicitiae scires esse et hominem probum existimares, qui patroni iudicio ornatus esset. Eum tibi igitur sic commendo, ut unum ex nostra domo. Valde mihi gratum erit, si curaris ut intellegat hanc commendationem sibi apud te magno adiumento fuisse.

but even in more studied works, excessive emphasis is laid on a point by an accumulation of words, e.g. Planc. 95, *quocum me uno vel maxime cum vetustas tum amicitia . . . tum respublica sociarat.*

rem meam commendarem] So M Pal. Wesenberg needlessly alters to *meam rem*, comparing for the order Fam. xiii. 23, 2 (518), *meus libertus*; 918, 2, *mea negotia*; 919, *mea negotia*.

Sic enim existimes] 'For I would have you consider that we have not only the closest daily intercourse, but also important reciprocal services have been done

by each to the other.' Wesenberg (E. A. 45) reads *nulla* for *mutua* of the mss, comparing for the confusion 808, 4, where M has *multo*, whereas H Pal have *mutuo*: if *mutua* is read he considers that *nostra* is superfluous; but it is a pardonable pleonasm, cp. 876, 3.

L. Nostius Zoilus] Zoilus was a freedman of L. Nostius. For names of freedmen, cp. Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516).

ornatus esset] 'has received a marked compliment.'

DCCCCXXII. CICERO TO P. CAESIUS (FAM. XIII. 61).

ROME ; YEAR QUITE UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero P. Caesio P. Messienum commendat.

CICERO P. CAESIO S. D.

P. Messienum, equitem Romanum, omnibus rebus ornatum meumque perfamiliarem, tibi commendo ea commendatione, quae potest esse diligentissima. Peto a te et pro nostra et pro paterna amicitia, ut eum in tuam fidem recipias eiusque rem famamque tueare. Virum bonum tuaque amicitia dignum tibi adiunxeris mihiq̄ue gratissimum feceris.

DCCCCXXIII. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 13).

CUMAE ; APRIL 10 ; A. U. C. 700 OR 701 ; B. C. 54 OR 53 ; AET. CIC. 52 OR 53.

M. Cicero cohortatur Tironem ad valetudinem curandam.

TULLIUS TIRONI SALUT.

Omnia a te data mihi putabo, si te valentem videro. Summa cura exspectabam adventum Menandri, quem ad te miseram. Cura, si me diligis, ut valeas et, cum te bene confirmaris, ad nos venias. Vale. iv. Idus April.

Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 449) assigns, with hesitation, this letter (922) to 698 (56). It appears to be addressed to P. Caesius (or his son) of Ravenna, who is mentioned in Balb. 50 as having been made a Roman citizen by Pompey's father in 664 (90). Schütz says the addressee is the Caesius who was made aedile at Arpinum, Fam. xiii. 11, 3 (452), but the prenomēn of the latter was Marcus.

Menandri] Some editors alter this to *Andrici* (924, 1); others alter *Andrici* there to *Menandri*.

It has been long agreed that Fam. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16 (923 to 927) form a definite group of letters, and belong to the same year, treating, as they do, of the manumission of Tiro. The month in which the first four letters were written was April (923 fin.). The day of the

DCCCCXXIV. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 14).

CUMAE; APRIL 11; A. U. C. 700 OR 701; B. C. 54 OR 53;

AET. CIC. 52 OR 53.

M. Cicero de Tironis valetudine ob serum adventum Andrici, se sollicitum fuisse scribit, hortaturque Tironem ut valetudini operam det.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Andricus postridie ad me venit quam exspectaram. Itaque habui noctem plenam timoris ac miseriae. Tuis litteris nihilo sum factus certior quo modo te haberes, sed tamen sum recreatus.

month on which Tiro was manumitted was probably April 28, for Cicero says he would be at Formiae on that day, and hoped to find Tiro there in good health (926, 1). The question is, to what year do these letters belong? The generally accepted year is 700 (54); but Körner, in a fine discussion (Jahrb. 1891, pp. 130-132), argues that it was in 701 (53). He lays down the following facts to guide us:—1°. Quintus was probably absent from Italy; his letter (927) reads as if he longed to see his kindred. 2°. Cicero was in Cumae on April 18 (926, 2). 3°. Pompey was there also on the same day. 4°. The manumission of Tiro was subsequent to that of Statius by Quintus, and, accordingly, after 695 (59), cp. Att. ii. 18, 4 (45) with 927, 2, and prior to 705 (49), for in the March of that year Pompey left Italy for ever. Now examine the intervening years. In April, 696, 697 (58, 57), Cicero was in exile; in April, 698 (56), Pompey was in Africa, Sardinia, perhaps Luca, certainly not in Campania: cp. Fam. i. 9, 9 (153); Q. Fr. ii. 5, 3 (106). In April, 699 (55), Pompey did not come to Cumae till the Parilia (Apr. 21): cp. Att. iv. 10, 2 (121). Early in May, 700 (54), about the 5th, Quintus left for Gaul (cp. Q. Fr. ii. 13, 1 (141), where Cicero states that he received a letter from Quintus, from Placentia, early in June), and, accordingly, was probably with his brother in April. In April, 702 (52), Cicero was busy at Rome defending Milo and Saufeius, and Pompey, *consul*

sine collega, had too much work as president of the state to spend his time rusticated in Campania. Early in May, 703 (51), Quintus and Tiro accompanied Marcus Cicero to Cilicia; and in April, 704 (50), they were in that province. Accordingly, 701 (53) alone remains the possible year for the manumission of Tiro. As a confirmation, we have a letter of April 8, 701 (53), addressed *ex Pomptino* to Trebatius, viz. Fam. vii. 18 (173). Cicero, doubtless, wrote that letter on his journey south. Tiro probably started with him from Rome, but could not proceed beyond Formiae.

Except for one point, all the above reasoning is conclusive. Might not the year be 700 (54)? Quintus, no doubt, left for Gaul early in May, as Körner elsewhere (Quaest. Chron., p. 40) satisfactorily establishes; but there does not appear to be any conclusive evidence that he was with Marcus up to the very moment of starting on his journey. Accordingly, he may not have heard of the manumission of Tiro in Formianum until the very eve of departure from Rome, or even until he was on the road: the opening words of 927 may well have been dictated by sadness when on the point of leaving home for a long period.

For date see introductory note to 923.

1. *Andricus*] cp. note to 923. Klotz thinks that Menander was the man's real name, and that Andricus (*Ἀνδρικός*) was a nickname.

Ego omni delectatione litterisque omnibus careo : quas ante quam te videro attingere non possum. Medico mercedis quantum poscet promitti iubeto : id scripsi ad Ummium. 2. Audio te animo angere et medicum dicere ex eo te laborare. Si me diligis, excita ex somno tuas litteras humanitatemque, propter quam mihi es carissimus. Nunc opus est te animo valere, ut corpore possis. Id cum tua tum mea causa facias a te peto. Acastum retine, quo commodius tibi ministretur. Conserva te mihi : dies promissorum adest : quem etiam repraesentabo, si adveneris. Etiam atque etiam vale. III. Idus hora VI.

DCCCCXXV. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 16).

CUMAE ; APRIL 12 ; A. U. C. 700 OR 701 ; B. C. 54 OR 53 ; AET. CIC.
52 OR 53.

M, Cicero suam de Tironis valetudine sollicitudinem significat.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Aegyptia ad me venit pridie Idus Apriles. Is etsi mihi nuntiavit te plane febris carere et belle habere, tamen, quod negavit te potuisse ad me scribere, curam mihi attulit, et eo magis, quod Hermia, quem eodem die venire oportuerat, non venerat. Incredibili sum sollicitudine de tua valetudine, qua si me liberarim, ego te omni cura liberabo. Plura scriberem, si iam putarem

Medico] Probably Metrodorus : cp. Fam. xvi. 20 (693). Ummius was, perhaps, Cicero's household steward (*dispensator*) at Tusculum.

2. *ex eo*] 'from that,' i.e. from distress of mind.

excita ex somno] cp. a very similar metaphor; cp. 926, 2, *Litterulae meae sive nostrae tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hac tamen epistola quam Acastus attulit oculos paulum sustulerunt.*

dies promissorum] i.e. the day on which I promised to manumit you.

quem . . . repraesentabo] 'which I shall discount.' For *repraesentare* = 'to do at once,' cp. Phil. ii. 118, *Quin etiam*

corpus libenter obtulerim si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest; Fam. v. 16, 6 (529), *non debemus expectare temporis medicinam quam repraesentare ratione possimus*; Att. xvi. 2, 3 (772); Caes. B. G. i. 40, 14. It is frequently used in the mercantile sense of 'paying down ready money,' e.g. Att. xii. 26, 1 (561).

For date see 923.

1. *Aegyptia*] formerly a slave, afterwards a freedman, of Cicero : cp. Att. viii. 16, 1 (360); xii. 37, 1 (657).

belle habere] 'and were doing nicely': cp. *belle fuisse*, Att. xiv. 16, 4 (721).

lubenter te legere posse. Ingenium tuum, quod ego maximi facio, confer ad te mihi tibiue conservandum. Cura te etiam atque etiam diligenter. Vale.

2. Scripta iam epistola Hermia venit. Accepit tuam epistolam vacillantibus litterulis, nec mirum tam gravi morbo. Ego ad te Aegyptam misi, quod nec inhumanus est et te visus est mihi diligere, ut is tecum esset, et cum eo cocom, quo uterere. Vale.

DCCCCXXVI. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 10).

CUMAE; APRIL 17; A. U. C. 700 OR 701; B. C. 54 OR 53; AET. CIC.
52 OR 53.

M. Cicero Tironem ad se venire cupit, sed viam timet, ne valetudini eius noceat. Operam Tironis in studiis laudat et exigit.

TULLIUS TIRONI S.

1. Ego vero cupio te ad me venire, sed viam timeo. Gravisime aegrotasti, inedia et purgationibus et vi ipsius morbi consumptus es. Graves solent offensiones esse ex gravibus morbis, si quae culpa commissa est. Iam ad id biduum, quod fueris in via, dum in Cumanum venis, accedent continuo ad reditum dies quinque. Ego in Formiano a. d. III. Kal. esse volo. Ibi te ut firmum offendam, mi Tiro, effice. 2. Litterulae meae sive nostrae tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Haec tamen epistola, quam Acastus attulit, oculos paullum sustulerunt. Pompeius erat apud me, cum

Ingenium] 'apply all that intelligence of yours, which I value so highly, to keeping yourself well, both for your own sake and my sake.'

2. *Scripta . . . Vale*] a postscript: op. Fam. viii. 6, 5 (242).

Hermia] cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 12 (53). *vacillantibus litterulis*] 'in small writing, quite shaky,' ablative of quality, Roby, § 1232. Tiro was suffering from fever: *tam gravi morbo*, ablative of attendant circumstances, Roby, § 1242, 'with such a severe attack.'

inhumanus] 'uncultivated,' as we might expect a slave to be.

ut is tecum esset] This goes with *misi*.

1. *offensiones*] 'disorders,' 'complications.'

accedent . . . quinque] 'you will require the five succeeding days for your return.'

iii. *Kal.*] sc. *Maías*. On this day Cicero probably intended to manumit Tiro: cp. 923.

2. *oblanguerunt*] 'have become relaxed,' 'have collapsed.' For the metaphor cp. 924, 2.

Pompeius] No doubt Pompey the Great. Editors who alter to *Pomponius* do so not only without mss authority, but needlessly.

haec scribebam, hilare et lubenter. Ei cupienti audire nostra dixi sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Musis nostris para ut operas reddas: nostra ad diem dictam fient. Docui enim te, fides ἔρμῳ quod haberet. Fac, plane ut valeas. Nos adsumus. Vale. XIII. Kal.

DCCCCXXVII. QUINTUS CICERO TO MARCUS CICERO
(FAM. XVI. 16).

ROME, OR ON HIS JOURNEY, OR TRANSALPINE GAUL; MAY (BEGINNING OR END);

A. U. C. 700 OR 701; B. C. 54 OR 53; AET. CIC. 52 OR 53.

Q. Cicero M. fratri de Tirone manu misso et gratias agit et gratulatur.

Q. M. FRATRI SAL.

1. De Tirone, mi Marce, ita te meumque Ciceronem et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium videam, ut mihi gratissimum fecisti, cum eum indignum illa fortuna ac nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi crede, tuis et illius litteris perlectis, exilui gaudio et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. 2. Si enim mihi Statii fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona

audire] We should say 'read,' not 'hear'; but the Romans, for the most part, judged of literary works by the effect which they produced when read: cp. Fam. vi. 7, 3 (532), and note.

operas reddas] 'pay your service due.' The plural marks the various cases in which the service will be rendered. *Nos- tra*, i.e. my promise to manumit you.

fides ἔρμῳ quod haberet] 'the derivation of *fides*': cp. Rep. iv. 21, *Fides enim nomen ipsum mihi videtur habere cum fit quod dicitur*. But, in Off. i. 21, he seems to think that this derivation may appear 'strained' (*durius*) to many.

Nos adsumus] 'We are ready here' (to fulfil our part), a phrase belonging to the law-courts.

xiii. Kal.] sc. *Maías*: cp. § 1.

For date cp. 923.

1. *meam*] Wesenberg (E. A. 56) reads

tuam for *meam* of the mss. It is, undoubtedly, harsh to have *meum*, 'my own,' immediately followed by *meam*, 'my dear'; but it is safer to adhere to the mss. Everyone loved Tullia.

fortuna ac nobis] So the mss, 'you preferred that he should be undeserving of that condition, and should be our friend rather than our slave.' The inelegance, if any, is trifling. Wesenberg (E. A. 57) wishes to read *fortuna ac <condicione>*: cp. Mil. 92; Off. i. 41; Lehmann, *fortuna ac <nomine>*, comparing for *nomine* Har. Resp. 29, Verr. iii. 159. Bücheler (Q. Cic. reliq. p. 64) reads *<indicasti> ac nobis*, omitting *eum*.

exilui gaudio] 'I jumped for joy.' Without this evidence, we should hardly have considered that the English expression could be rendered literally into Latin.

2. *fidelitas*] Lambinus adds *atque frugalitas*; Boot (Obs. Crit. 27), *et utilitas*,

debent, additis litteris, sermonibus, humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora! Amo te omnibus equidem de maximis causis, verum etiam propter hanc, vel quod mihi sic, ut debuisti, nuntiasti. Te totum in litteris vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia et faciam.

DCCCCXXVIII. CICERO TO SILIUS (FAM. XIII. 47).

ROME; A. U. C. 703 (P); B. C. 51 (P); AET. CIC. 55 (P).

M. Cicero P. Silio propr. Bithyniae L. Egnatium, communem amicum, commendat.

CICERO SILIO S.

Quid ego tibi commendem eum, quem tu ipse diligis? Sed tamen, ut scires eum a me non diligere solum, verum etiam amari, ob eam rem tibi haec scribo. Omnium tuorum officiorum, quae et multa et magna sunt, mihi gratissimum fuerit, si ita tractaris Egnatium, ut sentiat et se a me et me a te amari. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Illa nostra scilicet ceciderunt. Utamur igitur vulgari consolatione: 'Quid, si hoc melius?' Sed haec coram. Tu fac, quod facis, ut me ames teque amari a me scias.

because they consider that the plural *his ipsis commodis* shows that at least two characteristics of Statius must have been mentioned, and the corruption could easily have occurred *ex homosoteleuto*. But cp. note to 929, *quas*.

litteris, sermonibus] The *was* add a superfluous *et*. Retaining this, Lehmann (p. 61) reads *humanitateque*, noticing many examples of *-que* after *et*, 886, 2, *Caesareque*; Fam. xiii. 19, 1 (514), *commendationeque*.

vel] 'I mean,' an extension of the use of *vel*, 'for instance.'

Te totum in litteris vidi] 'I saw your whole self in your letter.' The criticism is strictly true. M. Cicero lives before us still in his correspondence.

This was probably P. Silius Nerva, who was praetor of Bithynia and Pontus in 703 (51): cp. Fam. xiii. 61 (233). The business affairs of Egnatius probably extended from Asia into Bithynia.

diligi . . . amari] cp. note to 873, 1.

Illam nostram] It is hard to know what this can refer to. Some commentators place this letter in 709 (45), and suppose it addressed to the Silius mentioned in Att. xii. 22, 3 (558), and, accordingly, think the reference is to the negotiations to buy the gardens of Silius. But it is quite possible that Cicero is alluding to some futile efforts he made to escape from having to go to his province: cp. *sed haec coram*.

Quid . . . melius?] cp. Att. vii. 3, 2 (294).

DCCCCXXIX. CICERO TO SEXTILIUS RUFUS
(FAM. XIII. 48).

ROME; BETWEEN A. U. C. 704 AND 707; B. C. 50-47; AET. CIC. 56-59.

M. Cicero C. Sextilio quaestori Ciliciae omnes Cyprios et in primis Paphios commendat.

CICERO C. SEXTILIO RUFO QUAEST. S. D.

Omnes tibi commendo Cyprios, sed magis Paphios, quibus tu quaecumque commodaris erunt mihi gratissima, eoque facio libentius, ut eos tibi commendem, quod et tuae laudi, cuius ego fautor sum, conducere arbitror, cum primus in eam insulam quaestor veneris, ea te instituere, quae sequantur alii: quae, ut spero, facilius consequere, si et P. Lentuli, necessarii tui, legem et ea, quae a me constituta sunt, sequi volueris. Quam rem tibi confido magnae laudi fore.

This letter must have been written before 707 (47), for in that year Cyprus was separated from Cilicia, and handed over to Arsinoe and Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Auletes (Dio Cass. xlii. 35, 5): and after Cicero's return from Cilicia at the end of 704 (50). Rufus was, perhaps, sent out to Cyprus as proquaestor by Caesar in 705 (49). He appears as commander of the fleet of Cassius in 711 (43): op. 901, 4.

ea te instituere] 'that you should adopt a course of action.' These words read like an injunction to a young governor on his first essay at administering a province.

quas, ut] Wesenberg (E. A. 45) alters to *quod*, apparently on the ground that the antecedent is *ea te instituere quas sequantur alii*, not simply *ea*. But Lehmann (p. 78) conclusively shows that the plural is quite allowable, though in strictness it refers only to one fact: cp. 876, 3, where *quae . . . gratissima* refer to the one fact, *ea te moderate accepisse neque temere credendum iudicasse*; Att. viii. 12, 3 (345), *haec extrema* refers only to *quod mare non transierim*.

P. Lentuli] P. Lentulus Spinther, who was governor of Cilicia 698 to 701 (56 to 53).

DCCCCXXX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 20).

ROME; SPRING (?); A. U. C. 708 (?); B. C. 46 (?); AET. CIC. 60 (?).

M. Cicero iocatus de Sinuessanae villae hospitio crebras litteras a Q. Cornificio poscit.

CICERO CORNIFICIO.

Gratae mihi tuae litterae, nisi quod Sinuessanum deversorium contempsisti. Quam quidem contumeliam villa pusilla iniquo animo feret, nisi in Cumano et Pompeiano reddideris πάντα περί πάντων. Sic igitur facies meque amabis et scripto aliquo lacesses. Ego enim respondere facilius possum quam provocare. Quod si, ut es, cessabis, lacessam, nec tua ignavia etiam mihi inertiam adferet. Plura otiosus: haec, cum essem in senatu, exaravi.

O. E. Schmidt (Briefwechsel, p. 252) supposes that this letter was written to Cornificius shortly after his departure for the east, whither he was sent by Caesar about the spring or early summer of 708 (46): cp. introductory note to Fam. xii. 17 (493).

Sinuessanum deversorium] 'my little lodging-house at Sinuessa.' Besides his larger villas, "Cicero had also several houses at which he could lodge for the night in travelling from one estate to another (*deversoria*), e.g. Tarracina, Fam. vii. 23, 3; perhaps Sinuessa, xii. 20; Cales, Att. viii. 3, 7; Anagnina, xii 1, 1." —Watson.

Quam . . . πάντων] 'and, indeed, my little villa will be very much insulted unless (by staying) in my houses at Cumae and Puteoli you make an *amende honorable*.'

lacesses] 'stimulate'; *provocare*, 'challenge.'

ut es] 'true to your character': cp. Att. xiii. 10 fin. (624), *ut erat, constantius respondisse*, cp. a very fine note of Lehmann, p. 83. Pal reads *ut es <delicatus>*, which is possible, but, as being the easier reading and redolent of the glossator, it is to be rejected.

nec . . . adferet] 'and your sloth will not induce indolence in me also,' i.e. in me as well as in you. There is no marked difference between *ignavia* and *inertia*. We have added *mihi* with Lambinus.

Plura otiosus] sc. *scribam*: cp. Att. xiv. 6, 2 (708), and often: cp. Heide-
mann, p. 67.

exaravi] 'I am jotting down.' This word seems to show that the letter was written on *codicilli*: cp. note to Fam. ix. 26, 1 (479).

DCCCCXXI. CICERO TO Q. MARCIUS REX
(FAM. XIII. 52).

ROME; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Q. Marcio Regi A. Licinium Aristotelem, hospitem suum, commendat.

CICERO REGI S.

A. Licinius Aristoteles Melitensis antiquissimus est hospes meus et praeterea coniunctus magno usu familiaritatis. Haec cum ita sint, non dubito quin tibi satis commendatus sit. Etenim ex multis cognosco meam commendationem plurimum apud te valere. Hunc ego a Caesare liberavi. Frequens enim fuerat nobiscum, atque etiam diutius in causa est quam nos commoratus: quo melius te de eo existimaturum arbitror. Fac igitur, mi Rex, ut intellegat has sibi litteras plurimum profuisse.

Rex is said to have been proprætor of Sicily in 708 (46). Schmidt (Briefwechsel, p. 256) thinks that this letter belongs to the autumn of that year, when Cicero entertained high hopes that Caesar would restore the constitution: cp. vol. iv., p. liii.

A. Licinius Aristoteles] Dr. Reid (on Arch., p. 9) notices as strange that Archias should have assumed a prenomen Aulus, which is never found among the Luculli, and refers to Aristoteles here as an example of another Greek who took the names of Aulus Licinius. Aristoteles may have been manumitted by one of the Murena family, and Archias may have taken the name of Aulus, in compliment to some other Roman who interested himself in his advancement; just as Cicero's

slave Dionysius, in whom Atticus took an interest, assumed the prenomen of Cicero, and the nomen and cognomen of Atticus, and thus appeared as Marcus Pomponius Atticus: cp. Att. iv. 15, 1 (143), and note to Fam. xiii. 35, 1 (687).

coniunctus] 'an association of long and friendly intercourse.' Lambinus and Wesenberg add *mihi* after *coniunctus*; but Mendelssohn aptly compares Nep. Att. 7, 1, *ipsum Pompeium coniunctum offendit*; also Quintil. vii. 4, 21, *alienus an coniunctus*.

a Caesare liberavi] 'I secured his freedom from Caesar': *liberavi* probably = *liberatum effeci* (or *accepi*).

in causa] 'in the cause,' i.e. the cause of Pompey.

PSEUDO-CICERO TO OCTAVIANUS.

PLACE UNCERTAIN ; SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BETWEEN
AUGUST 19 AND DECEMBER 7 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Gravis et vehemens invectiva in Octavianum qui, subito commutata voluntate, optimatum et senatus partes reliquerat et urbem militibus suis tenebat.

CICERO OCTAVIANO SAL.

1. Si per tuas legiones mihi licitum fuisset, quae nomini meo populoque Romano sunt inimicissimae, venire in senatum coramque de re publica disputare, fecissem, neque tam libenter quam necessario, nulla enim remedia, quae vulneribus adhibentur, tam faciunt dolorem, quam quae sunt salutaria. Sed, quoniam cohortibus armatis circumsaeptus senatus nihil aliud vere potest decernere nisi se timere—in Capitolio signa sunt, in urbe milites vagantur, in Campo castra ponuntur, Italia tota legionibus ad libertatem nostram conscriptis ad servitutem adductis equitatuque exterarum nationum distinctetur—, cedam tibi in praesentia foro et curia et sanctissimis deorum immortalium templis, in quibus revisovente iam libertate deinde rursus oppressus senatus nihil consultitur, timet multa, adsentatur omnia. 2. Post etiam paullo temporibus ita postulantibus cedam urbe, quam per me conservatam, ut esset libera, in servitute videre non potero ; cedam vita, quae quamquam sollicita est, tamen, si profutura est rei publicae,

That this letter is the work of a rhetorician, and a very foolish one too, is evident. The complete lack of dignity, the feeble impotent abuse, and the utter aimlessness of the whole production stamp it at once as entirely alien from Cicero's style. It is quite needless to argue against its genuineness, which no one would think of defending. The sole interest of the document consists in the fact that it is found in most mss of Cicero's Epistles, and affords some important indications of the value of certain German mss. Our notes are almost entirely confined to these points.

1. *tam faciunt . . . salutaria*] A codex of Turnebus (see his *Adversaria*, xvi. 8),

which we shall call T, reads *non faciunt dolorem quamvis sint salutaria*. So also the Dresdensis Dc. 112 (D), H (= Harl. 2682), and Erf. It is possible that T may be one of the Memmiani codices (cp. Turnebus, *Adversaria*, xxiii. 29, xxx. 13).

see] H ; om. M.

2. *cedam vita . . . me consolatur*] 'I shall depart from life, which, although fraught with anxiety, yet if it is likely to benefit the state, affords me consolation by the fair hope of future fame.' For *posteritas* in this sense cp. Tusc. i. 35, *veri simile est, cum optimus quisque maxime posteritati serviat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus*.

bona spe posteritatis me consolatur, qua sublata non dubitanter occidam atque ita cedam, ut fortuna iudicio meo, non animus mihi defuisse videatur. Illud vero, quod et recentis doloris habet indicium et praeteritae iniuriae testimonium et absentium sensus significationem, non praeterrittam, quin, quoniam coram id facere prohibeor, absens pro me reque p. expostulem tecum—atque ita dico ‘pro me,’ si quidem mea salus aut utilis rei publicae est aut coniuncta certe publicae saluti—; nam, per deum immortalium fidem—nisi forte frustra eos appello, quorum aures atque animus a nobis abhorrent—perque Fortunam populi Romani—quae, quamquam nobis infesta est, fuit aliquando propitia et, ut spero, futura est—, quis tam expers humanitatis, quis huius urbis nomini ac sedibus usque adeo est inimicus, ut ista aut dissimulare possit aut non dolere aut, si nulla ratione publicis incommodis mederi queat, non morte proprium periculum vitet? 3. Nam, ut ordiar ab initio et perducam ad extremum et novissima conferam primis, quae non posterior dies acerbior priore et quae non insequens hora antecedente calamitosior populo Romano illuxit? M. Antonius, vir animi maximi—utinam etiam sapientis consilii fuisset!—, C. Caesare fortissime, sed parum feliciter a rei publicae dominatione semoto concupierat magis regium, quam quem libera civitas pati posset, principatum: publicam dilapidabat pecuniam, aerarium exhauriebat, minuebat vectigalia, donabat civitates immunitate et nationes ex commentario; dictaturam gerebat, leges imponebat, prohibebat dictatorem creari, plebiscita contemnebat, ipse regnabat in consulatu, unus provincias omnes concupierat: cui

absens . . . me, si] So H Erf. D except for *reque p.*, it has *et p.*; T (except that it omits *reque p.*). Omitting the intervening words, M reads *absens pro me si*. The reading of these mss is obviously right, and not at all of the nature of an interpolation. What M gives is an emendation after the words from the one *pro me* to the other dropped out. For the words which follow H Erf. gives *si salus mea utilis est rei p. aut coniuncta publicae saluti*. From a critical point of view the importance of this passage is very great.

a nobis abhorrent] We do not know of any other passage in which *abhorre* is used in the sense of ‘being averse from’ a person. It is generally used of ‘being averse from’ a thing.

3. *dilapidabat pecuniam]* ‘made ducks and drakes of the money.’ This is a good classical word: cp. Ter. Phorm. v. 8, 4, *priusquam dilapidat nostras triginta minas*—but it is a comic one. For the squandering of money by Antony, cp. Phil. ii. 93 ff.

immunitate et nationes] omitted in M; added from T D H Erf. and Cratander’s ed. (but D H Erf. omits *et*).

creari . . . concupierat] So T D, except that the former, after *creari*, omits *plebiscita contemnebat*, and D apparently omits *omnes*: cp. O. E. Schmidt, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung*, &c., p. 98. M reads *creari legibus, senatus consulti* (*consulto* R: *consultis* Ald.) *ipse regnabat* (*repugnabat* R) *in senatu*,

sordebat Macedonia provincia, quam victor sibi sumpserat Caesar, quid de hoc sperare aut exspectare nos oportebat? 4. Exstitisti tu vindex nostrae libertatis, ut tunc quidem, optimus—quod utinam neque nostra nos opinio neque tua fides fefellisset!—et veteranis in unum conductis et duabus legionibus a perniciie patriae ad salutem advocatis subito prope iam desperatam et afflictam ac prostratam rem publicam tuis opibus extulisti. Quae tibi non ante, quam postulares, maiora, quam velles, plura, quam sperares, detulit senatus? dedit fascēs, ut cum auctoritate defensorem haberet, non ut imperio se adversum armaret; appellavit imperatorem hostium exercitu pulso tribuens honorem, non ut tua caede caesus ille fugiens exercitus te nominaret imperatorem; decrevit in foro statuam, locum in senatu, summum honorem ante tempus. 5. Si quid aliud est, quod dari possit, addet: quid aliud est maius, quod velis sumere? sin autem supra aetatem, supra consuetudinem, supra etiam mortalitatem tuam tibi sunt omnia tributa, cur aut ut ingratum crudeliter aut ut immemorem beneficii tui scelerate circumscribis senatum? Quo te misimus? a quibus reverteris? Contra quos armavimus? quibus arma cogitas inferre? A quibus exercitum abducis? quos adversus aciem struis? Cur hostis relinquitur, civis hostis loco petitur? Cur castra medio itinere longius *ab* adversariorum castris et propius urbem moventur? Cogit illorum spes aliquid nos timere. 6. O me numquam sapientem et aliquando id, quod non eram, frustra existimatum! quantum te, popule Romane, de me fefellit opinio! O meam calamitosam ac praecipitem senectutem! o turpem exacta dementique aetate cani-

provincias omnes unus concupierat. The divergences between these German *mas* and *M* are of a very remarkable nature, and until some intermediate *ms* is discovered baffle explanation. That deliberate emendation has been at work is probable from *prosim* (§ 2) in *M*, and from the variant *conabitur M*, *poterit H Erf.* *Crat.* in § 7. Wunder makes the interesting remark that the divergences of the *mas* of the spurious works attributed to Cicero are much greater than those of his genuine writings.

4. *desperatam . . . prostratam*] So Baier. T D H Erf. *Crat.* have *desperatam et afflictam*; *M* has *iam affectam ac prostratam.*

non ut imperio se adversum armaret]

'not that it should arm one with supreme authority against itself.' It is unusual, and un-Ciceronian, to find *adversum* placed after the word it governs. Perhaps we should read *te*. Two lines below the *mas* give *sua* for *tua*.

tua caede caesus] So RI (except that they have *sua*), 'defeated by the defeat you caused.' *M* has *sua caede ausus*, which Baier adopts. Is it ironical, 'emboldened by its own defeat'? H Erf. are corrupt, *sua caede rursus*.

decrevit] cp. Phil. v. 46.

5. *Cogit . . . timere*] So H Erf.; om. *M*.

6. *o turpem . . . canitiem*] 'O the disgrace to my grey hairs, now that my

tiem! ego patres conscriptos ad parricidium induxi, ego rem publicam fefelli, ego ipsum senatum sibi manus adferre coëgi, cum te Iunonium puerum et matris tuæ partum aureum esse dixi; at te fata patriæ Paridem futurum prædicebant, qui vastares urbem incendio, Italiam bello, qui castra in templis deorum immortalium, senatum in castris habiturus esses. 7. O miseram et in brevi tam celerem et tam variam rei publicæ commutationem! quisnam tali futurus ingenio est, qui possit hæc ita mandare litteris, ut facta, non ficta videantur esse? quis erit tanta animi facilitate, qui, quæ verissime memoria propagata fuerint, non fabulæ similia sit existimaturus? cogita enim Antonium hostem iudicatum, ab eo circumsessum consulem designatum eundemque rei publicæ parentem, te profectum ad consulem liberandum et hostem opprimendum hostemque a te fugatum et consulem obsidione liberatum, deinde paullo post fugatum illum hostem arcessitum tamquam coheredem mortua re publica ad bona populi Romani capienda, consulem designatum rursus inclusum eo, ubi se non moenibus, sed fluminibus et montibus tueretur: hæc quis poterit exponere? quis credere audebit? Liceat semel impune peccare, sit erranti medicina confessio. 8. Verum enim dicam: utinam te potius, Antoni, dominum non expulsemus, quam hunc reciperemus! non quo ulla sit optanda servitus, sed quia dignitate domini minus turpis est fortuna servi, in duobus autem malis, cum fugiendum maius sit, levius est eligendum. Ille ea tamen exorabat, quæ volebat auferre: tu extorques. Ille consul provinciam petebat: tu privatus concupiscis. Ille ad malorum salutem iudicia constituebat et leges ferebat: tu ad perniciem optimorum. Ille a sanguine et incendio servorum Capitolium tuebatur: tu cruore et flamma cuncta delere vis. Si, qui

life is finished, and become crazed.' This is too unnatural even for the rhetorician. We should probably alter, with Wesenberg, to *labentique*.

Iunonium puerum] If Cicero ever applied to Octavian these affected titles, they may possibly have reference to the dream he is related to have had about that young man, Plut. Cic. 44. The dream is related differently in Dio Cass. xlv. 2 and Suet. Oct. 94.

7. *fluminibus et montibus*] cp. the conclusion of the life of D. Brutus sketched in the Introduction.

cluding paragraph of the life of D. Brutus sketched in the Introduction.

poterit] H Erf. Crat.; *conabitur* M.
8. *provinciam*] Gallia Cisalpina, which Antony obtained in exchange for Macedonia by the *Lex Antonia de permutatione provinciarum*.

iudicia constituebat] The *Lex Antonia iudiciaria* added a third class of jurymen to the senators and equites. This third class was to consist of centurions and soldiers of the legion Alauda, Phil. i. 19; v. 12.

U

dabat provincias Cassio et Brutis et illis custodibus nominis nostri, regnabat, quid faciet, qui vitam adimit? si, qui ex urbe eiiciebat, tyrannus erat, quem hunc appellemus, qui ne locum quidem relinquit exsilio? 9. Itaque, si quid illae maiorum nostrorum sepultae reliquiae sapiunt, si non una cum corpore sensus omnis uno atque eodem consumptus est igni, quid illis interrogantibus, quid agat nunc populus Romanus, respondebit aliquis nostrum, qui proximus in illam aeternam domum discesserit? aut quem accipient de suis posteris nuntium illi veteres Africani, Maximi, Paulli, Scipiones? quid de sua patria audient, quam spoliis triumphisque decorarunt? an esse quendam annos XVIII. natum, cuius avus fuerit argentarius, adstipulator pater, uterque vero precarium quaestum fecerit, sed alter usque ad senectutem, ut non negaret, alter a pueritia, ut non posset non confiteri: eum agere, rapere rem publicam, cui nulla virtus, nullae bello subactae et ad imperium adiunctae provinciae, nulla dignitas maiorum conciliasset eam potentiam, sed forma per dedecus pecuniam et nomen nobile consceleratum impudicitia dedisset, *qui* veteres vulneribus et aetate confectos Iulianos gladiatores, egentes reliquias Caesaris ludi, ad rudem compulisset, quibus ille saeptus omnia misceret, nullis parceret, sibi viveret, qui tamquam in dotali matrimonio rem publicam testamento legatam sibi obtineret? 10. Audient duo Decii servire eos cives, qui ut hostibus imperarent, victoriae se devoverunt; audiet C. Marius impudico domino parere nos, qui ne militem quidem habere voluit nisi pudicum; audiet Brutus eum populum, quem ipse primo, post progenies eius a regibus liberavit, pro turpi stupro datum in servitutem: quae quidem, si nullo alio, me tamen internuntio ocleriter ad illos deferentur; nam, si vivus ista subterfugere non potero, una cum istis vitam simul fugere decrevi.

appellemus] H Erf.; *vocemus* M.

9. *aeternam domum*] cp. Accius, quoted in N. D. iii. 41.

adstipulator] 'Designari videntur hoc loco ii qui in foro ad argentariorum tabernas adsistebant et mercede aliqua accepta aliorum contractus sua adstipulatione et fide firmabant.'—Forellini.

ad rudem compulisset] 'forced back to the ring.' *Rudis* was the wooden sword, used for practice in the gladiatorial

schools, and such a sword was given to gladiators on their discharge. As far as we know, the phrase does not occur elsewhere. A modern would probably use an expression taken from the prize-ring. We find, in inscriptions, a gladiator called *prima rudis*, and another *secunda rudis*. Such were discharged gladiators who taught in the schools: cp. 'first violin,' 'second violin.'

10. *C. Marius*] cp. Mil. 9.

FRAGMENTA EPISTOLARUM.

I. AD M. TITINNIUM.

L. Plotius Gallus. De hoc Cicero in epistola ad M. Titinnium sic refert:

Equidem memoria teneo pueris nobis primum Latine docere coepisse L. Plotium quendam: ad quem cum fieret concursus, quod studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere: continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant Graecis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse. (Suetonius de rhet. c. 2.)

II. AD CORNELIUM NEPOTEM LIB. II.

1. Cicero in libro epistolarum ad Cornelium Nepotem secundo sic ait:

Itaque nostri, cum omnia, quae dixissemus, dicta essent, quae facete et breviter et acute locuti essemus, ea proprio nomine appellari dicta voluerunt. (Macrobius, Saturn. ii. 1, 14.)

AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

2. Cicero ad Nepotem:

Hoc restiterat etiam, ut a te fictis adgrederer donis ['adgrederer' passive dixit, ἐνεδρεῦθῶ. in eodem] qui habet, ultro ad-

I. *TITINNIUM*] Nothing is known of him.

L. Plotium] Eusebius' Chronicon places him in Ol. 171, 3 = 88 B.C. This suits the date as given by Suetonius, Seneca, who says (Controv. ii. Praef.) that he taught Latin rhetoric at Rome *Cicerone puero*, and Quintilian (ii. 4, 42), who places him *extremis L. Crassi temporibus*. He wrote a treatise *De Gestu* (Quintil. xi. 3, 143). Varro scoffs at him as teaching his pupils to be bumpkins, and to bawl like cattle-drovers: cp. Varro ap. Non. 79, 29, *Automedo meus quod apud Plotium rhetorem bubulcitare <instituerat>*, '*lateralis dolor*' (cp. Ennius, Annal. 601 (Vahlen), *Tum lateralis dolor certissimus nuntius mortis non defuit*, according to

the reading of L. Müller. The Schol. Bob. on Arch. 20 is certainly wrong in giving *L. Clodium* as lemma to the comment *Hic primus Romae studia Latina docuisse <fertur>*. It should have been *L. Plotium*, as in the text of Cicero.

The passage in Suetonius given above proceeds thus: *Hunc eundem (nam diutissime vixit) M. Caelius in oratione quam pro se de vi habuit, significabat dictasse Atratinio accusatori suo actionem, subtraetique nomine ordearium eum rhetorem appellat, deridens ut inflatum ac levem ac sordidum*—for we are told a barley diet makes one swell.

II. 1. *quas . . . essemus*] 'our witty, terse, and pointed remarks are specially called "sayings".'

petitur; qui est pauper, aspernatur, [passive, ἰξουθενεῖται]. (Priscianus viii. 4, 17 = 2, 383, 1 Keil.)

3. Cicero ad Cornelium Nepotem de eodem (Caesare) ita scripsit :

Quid ? oratorum quem huic antepones eorum, qui nihil aliud egerunt ? quis sententiis aut acutior aut crebrior ? quis verbis aut ornatior aut elegantior ? (Suetonius, Iul. c. 55.)

4. Ut Tullius quoque docet crudelitatis increpans Caesarem in quadam ad Nepotem epistola :

Neque enim quidquam aliud est felicitas nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas vel, ut alio modo definiam, felicitas est fortuna, adiutrix consiliorum bonorum, quibus qui non utitur felix esse nullo pacto potest. Ergo in perditis impiisque consiliis, quibus Caesar usus erat, nulla potuit esse felicitas, feliciorque meo iudicio Camillus exsulans quam temporibus isdem Manlius, etiam si, id quod cupierat, regnare potuisset. (Ammianus, Marcell. xxi. 16, 13.)

5. Haec quidam veterum formidantes cognitiones actuum variorum stilis uberioribus explicatas non edidere superstites, ut in quadam ad Cornelium Nepotem epistola Tullius quoque testis reverendus affirmat.—Idem xxvi. 1, 2.

III. AD C. CAESAREM EPIST. LIB. I.

1. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Tum, cum ea, quae es ab senatu summo cum honore tuo consecutus. (Nonius v. consequi p. 270, 15, v. honor p. 319 sq.)

2. ἰξουθενεῖται] 'is set at nought': cp. Luke xxiii. 11; Romans xiv. 10.

3. ornatior aut elegantior] 'more dignified and refined.'

4. Manlius] He saved the Capitol from the Gauls in 390; but six years later was accused of aiming at royal power, and put to death (Cic. Phil. i. 32; ii. 114; Liv. vi. 20).

5. haec] When in the course of his history Ammianus reaches his own time he notices two reasons for which he might avoid writing of that period—(1) the danger of telling the truth (*pericula veritatis contigua*); (2) the minuteness and detail which critics require. Haec refers to the censures of such critics.

cognitiones] 'did not publish for posterity their knowledge of multifarious events written in a fuller manner' (than

is done by most historians), i.e. did not write lengthy histories of their own times.

III. C. CAESAREM] L. Gurlitt, in an acute and learned pamphlet (*Nonius Marcellus und die Cicero-Briefe*, Steglitz, 1888), holds that these letters 'to C. Caesar' were addressed, not to Julius Caesar, but to Octavian; for (1) the quotations from letters 'to Caesar' and 'to Caesar junior' mostly come from the alphabetically arranged Book iv. of Nonius, and generally as the principal illustration of the word treated. They were, accordingly, in all probability, taken straight from a special glossary of words occurring in a definite body of correspondence. (2) The quotations from the letters 'to Caesar junior' and 'to Caesar' occur in and out of one another, e.g. under

2. M. Tullius in epistola ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Balbus quanti faciam quamque ei me totum dicaverim, ex ipso scies. (Idem v. dicare p. 287, 25.)

3. Epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Debes odisse improbitatem eius, quia impudentissimum nomen delegerit. (Idem v. improbum p. 327, 5.)

4. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Ut sciret tuenda maiore cura esse quam parta sunt. (Idem v. tueri p. 413, 29.)

5. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Itaque vereor ne ferociorem eum faciant tua tam praeclara iudicia de eo. (Idem v. ferox p. 305, 5.)

letter d, Non. 283, 33, to C. j. ; 286, 12, to C. ; 287, 25, to C. ; 288, 25, to C. j. (3) None of the letters 'to Caesar' need necessarily be letters addressed to Julius, and all would fit more appropriately into a correspondence with Octavian. This is allowed by L. Müller in the case of Non. 32, 16, and 436, 22. (4) It is unlikely that Tiro, at the end of 710 (44), would have been able to collect a large body of correspondence between Cicero and Caesar when Caesar's papers were in the hands of Antony, unless we suppose that Cicero kept copies of all the letters he despatched, which is improbable. (5) The three commendatory letters in Fam. addressed to the dictator (Fam. xiii. 15, 16; vii. 5) were probably recovered by Tiro from the men who were recommended therein to Caesar, viz. from Precillius, Crassus, and Trebatius.

The chief objection that may be urged against this theory is that we must suppose either—(1) that the volume of correspondence was called 'ad Caesarem,' and Nonius himself added in the greater number of cases 'iuniorem,' which we should hardly expect from the foolish, but mechanical, Nonius; or (2) that in a dozen cases 'iuniorem' fell out for some reason or another, perhaps because it was written *rvn*, and the copyist did not understand it, or took it for the number of a book. Still, notwithstanding this grave objection, we are of opinion that the balance of argument lies decidedly in favour of Gurlitt's theory.

1. *ea quae . . . consecutus*] These words refer to the honours bestowed on Octavian by the senate on Dec. 20 (Phil. iii. 38, 39; iv. 2, 4) and Jan. 2 (Phil. v., vi.) viz. propraetorian rank, seat in the senate among the consulares, permission to stand for the consulship ten years sooner than the normal time, a status, &c. (App. B. C. iii. 64).

2. *Balbus*] This fragment is probably taken from a letter in which Cicero introduced Balbus to Octavian. It is impossible to fix the date. We know that Balbus met Octavian at Naples on April 19, 44: cp. Att. xiv. 10, 3 (713).

3. *eius*] probably Antony, who assumed the title of Imperator (cp. Phil. xiii. 22) when he blockaded Decimus Brutus in Mutina at the end of December, 710 (44).

quia] So the mss of Nonius; *qui* old edd.; *quei* L. Müller.

4. *ut sciret . . . sunt*] Gurlitt (p. 7) supposes that this refers to Dec. Brutus: cp. Fam. xi. 5, 2 (809), written Dec. 9, 44, *tu si dies noctesque memineras . . . quantam rem gesseris, non oblivescere profecto, quantae tibi etiam nunc gerendae sint*. L. Müller compares the proverbial verse, *Nec minor est virtus quam quaerere parta tueri*.

5. *tua tam . . . eo*] For *tua tam* the mss of Nonius give *tutam* and *telo* for *de eo*; Quicherat suggests *de illo*. The reference is in either case to Antony. The passage refers to the speech delivered by Octavian in November, 710 (44): cp.

6. M. Tullius in epistolis ad Caesarem lib. I.:

Quod sapientes homines ac boni putant. (Idem v. putare p. 369, 30.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. II.

1. Monumenti proprietatem a monendo M. Tullius exprimendam putavit ad Caesarem epistolarum lib. II.:

Sed ego, quae monumenti ratio sit, nomine ipso admoneor: ad memoriam magis spectare debet posteritatis quam ad praesentis temporis gratiam. (Nonius p. 32, 16.)

2. Locandi significatio manifesta est, ut aut operis locandi aut fundi. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. II.:

Vel quod locatio ipsa pretiosa. (Idem p. 340, 15.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. III.

1. Dimittere est derelinquere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem lib. III.:

Quae si videres, non te exercitu retinendo tuereris, sed eo radito aut dimisso. (Idem p. 286, 12.)

2. Contemnere et despiciere eo distant, quod est despiciere gravius quam contemnere M. Tullius ad Caesarem lib. III.:

Amici non nulli a te contemni et despici ac pro nihilo haberi senatum volunt. (Idem p. 436, 22.)

Att. xvi. 15, 3 (807). It probably does not refer to the speech delivered in May (cp. Att. xiv. 21, 4 (728); xv. 2, 3 (732)), as it cannot be proved, and is unlikely, that Cicero was in correspondence with Octavian before the autumn of 710 (44), when he exchanged many letters with him: cp. Att. xvi. 8, 1 (797); 9, 1 (798); 11, 6 (799).

6. *putant*] Gurliitt (p. 8) refers this fragment to the attempt by Octavian on Antony's life in October, 710 (44): cp. Fam. xii. 23, 3 (792), *prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant*.

ii. 1. *Caesarem*] L. Müller adds *iuniorum*.

monumenti] The reference is to the statue granted to Octavian on January 2: cp. App. iii. 64, *ἐνεθυμείτο δὲ* (sc. Octavian thought of the way in which the senate had tried to cajole him) *καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐς μισθόκιον τέχνης εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρὰσχόρων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων*.

memoriam] cp. Phil. v. 17, *an illa non gravissimis ignominiiis monumentisque huius ordinis ad posteritatis memoriam sunt notanda*.

2. *locatio*] This probably refers to the contract for the honours which were granted to the consuls who fell in the war at Mutina (Phil. xiv. 38).

iii. 1. *derelinquere*] 'surrender.'

te] Nipperdey; *de* mss of Nonius.

tuereris] So Madvig, A. C. ii. 245, and L. Müller for *tueri* of the mss. Hirtius, about the end of January, took command, as consul, of all the forces in North Italy, among which were the Fourth and Martian legions, who had deserted Antony, and attached themselves to Octavian: cp. Phil. xiv. 27; Fam. x. 30, 1 (841); xi. 14, 2 (886); Appian, iii. 75 (Pansa to Octavian), *συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν ἵνα σοὺ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπῶμεν*. Cicero here seems to urge Octavian to hand over his legions to the consul.

2. *Caesarem*] L. Müller adds *iuniorum*.

a] added by Lipsius. Patricius reads *is . . . a senatu*.

senatum] This refers probably to the claims for the consulship laid by Octavian before the senate in July, 711 (43), as Gurliitt (p. 10) has pointed out.

AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. Consequi, exprimere, definire. M. Tullius ad Caesarem :

Extrema vero nec quanta nec qualia sint, verbis consequi possum. (Idem p. 270, 19.)

2. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem :

Iam amplitudinem gloriamque tuam magno mihi ornamento esse et fore existimo, †quid me levas cura. (Idem v. levare p. 336, 22.)

IV. FRAGMENTUM EPIST. CAESARIS AD CICERONEM.

Verrius Flaccus, inquit Plinius, eorum nominum, quae nō finiuntur casu nominativo, ablativus in *z* dirigendus est. Itaque Caesar epistularum ad Ciceronem

Neque (inquit) pro cauto ac diligente se castris continuit. (Charisius i. 21, 66 (= 1, 126, 9 K).)

V. AD CAESAREM IUNIOREM EPIST. LIB. I.

1. Aditus, adventus. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Et aut ad consules aut ad te aut ad Brutum adissent, his fraudi ne esset, quod cum Antonio fuissent. (Nonius p. 238, 2.)

2. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Roga ipsum, quem ad modum ego eum Arimini acceperim. (Idem v. accipere p. 239, 22. v. rogare p. 383, 7.)

Ex LIB. INCERT. 1. *consequi*] It is impossible to say in what connexion this fragment occurred.

2. *mihi ornamento*] Cicero, in a glowing passage (Phil. v. 51), went surety for Octavian that he would be loyal to the state : cp. note to Brut. i. 18, 3 (915).

†*quid*] *qui* (abl.) L. Müller ; *quod me levat cura* (Mercer).

IV. *neque . . . continuit*] For this use of *pro* with an adjective in an adverbial sense, cp. Plaut. Men. ii. 2, 24, *pro sano loqueris* ; Sall. Jug. 22, *neque recte neque pro bono facturum*. The reference is possibly to some neglect on the part of Hirtius in the skirmishes before Mutina, perhaps to the desertion of the Gallic cavalry (Dio Cass. xlvii. 37).

V. i. 1. *adiissent*] This fragment is part of the same letter as that from which frag. 16 is taken. The decree was passed on February 3 : cp. Phil. viii. 33, *Eorum,*

qui cum M. Antonio sunt, qui ab armis discesserint et aut ad C. Pansam aut ad C. Hirtium consules aut ad Decimum Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, aut ad C. Caesarem pro praetore ante Idus Martias primas adierint, iis fraudi ne sit, quod cum M. Antonio fuerint.

2. *ad Caesarem*] This letter is really from Octavian. The title of the book of letters was 'M. Tullius ad Caesarem,' just as Fam. ix. 20 is called 'Cicero ad Varronem epistula Paeti' (to Paetus) by Non. 83, 28. In the titles and endings of the books ad Fam. in the mss the book bears the name of the correspondent to whom the first letter is addressed.

roga . . . acceperim] *rogo . . . acceperit*. So the mss Lugd. Harl. Guelf. Genev. at Non. 239, 22 ; but at 383, 7, all the mss have *roga . . . acceperim* (or *-em*). L. Müller reads as in the text.

Hirtius left Rome on January 5, and

3. Cunctari est dubitare, dissipare.—M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Sed cito paenituit domumque rediit, ceteri cunctabantur.
(Idem p. 52, 17.)

4. Comparare, adaequare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Neminem tibi profecto hominem ex omnibus aut anteposuissem umquam aut etiam comparassem. (Nonius p. 255 sq.)

5. Conficere, colligere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

In singulas tegulas impositis [sescentis] sescenties confici posse. (Idem p. 268 sq.)

6. Conficere, consumere, finire. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Bellum, ut opinio mea fert, consensu civitatis confectum iam haberemus. (Nonius p. 269, 16.)

7. Ducere, trahere, differre. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Ne res duceretur, fecimus ut Hercules Antonianus in alium locum transferretur. (Idem p. 283 sq.)

8. Expedire, colligere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Ex ceteris autem generibus tunc pecunia expeditur, cum legionibus victricibus erunt, quae spopondimus, persolvenda. (Idem p. 298, 20).

probably met Octavian at Ariminum about the middle of the month: cp. App. iii. 46, δ μὲν δὴ (Caesar) λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο ὅθεν ἐστὶ ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχή.

3. *paenituit*] We are unable to offer any opinion as to the reference in this fragment.

4. *neminem*] Gurlitt (p. 18) thinks that perhaps this is a fragment of a letter from Octavian. Certainly the young man flattered Cicero as long as he required his assistance: cp. Att. xvi. 8, 9, 10 (797–9).

5. *sescentis*] This word is omitted by several mss. L. Müller supposes a lacuna before *in singulas*. Ruete (p. 44) suggests *tribus sestertiis* (= 4 obols): cp. Dio. xlvii. 31, 3, where it is stated that, in addition to an income tax of 4 per cent. paid by all citizens, the senators were required to pay τέσσαρας δβολοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην κεραμίδα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἰκιῶν ὅσας ἡ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτηντο ἢ ἄλλας οὕσας ᾗκουν.

6. *bellum . . . haberemus*] Ruete (p. 45) sees a reference to D. Brutus: cp. Fam. xii. 5, 2 (821), *qui si, ut sperabamus, erupisset Mutina, nihil belli reliqui fore videbatur*. § 3. *Populi vero Romani totiusque Italiae mira consensio*.

7. *Antonianus*] This is the brilliant emendation of Hirschfeld for *Antianus*. There is no evidence that Hercules was worshipped at Antium, and even if there was, the adjective would be *Antiatinus*. On the other hand, Antony claimed descent from Ἄντων, a son of Hercules (Plut. Ant. 4, 36), and, like that hero, used to ride in a chariot drawn by lions (Plin. H. N. viii. 55). As Antony found statues to Hercules which bore the titles *Hercules Sullanus*, *Hercules Pompeianus* (Vitruv. iii. 5), he, doubtless, saw no reason why he should not erect a statue to Hercules Antonianus.

8. *pecunia*] probably comes from the same letter as Frag. 5: cp. Phil. v. 53, for the rewards which Cicero voted to be given to the veterans.

9. Involvere, implicare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Sed quod viderem nomine pacis bellum involutum fore. (Idem p. 328, 19.)

10. Opinio est fama. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Erat opinio bona de Planco, bona de Lepido. (Idem p. 156, 13.)

11. Praestare, exhibere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Tu si meam fidem praestiteris, quod confido te esse facturum. (Idem p. 371, 7.)

12. Relatum [dicitur] perlatum, dictum a M. Tullio ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Sed haec videbimus, cum legati responsa retulerint. (Idem p. 380, 29.)

13. Spurcum, vehemens, asperum. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Cum iter facerem ad Aquilam Claternam tempestate spurcissima. (Idem p. 394, 7.)

14. Vindicare, revocare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Qui si nihil ad id beneficium adderes, quo per te me una cum re publica in libertatem vindicavissem. (Idem p. 419, 13.)

15. Ignoscere et concedere quemadmodum inter se distent, aperit M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Quod mihi et Philippo vacationem das, bis gaudeo: nam et praeteritis ignoscis et concedis futura. (Idem p. 436, 17.)

9. *involutum*] Ruete (p. 42) compares Phil. vii. 19, *nec ego pacem volo sed pacis nomine bellum involutum reformido*.

10. *Lepido*] The good opinion which the senatorial party entertained of Lepidus at the beginning of 711 (43), cp. Dio. xli. 29; Fam. x. 33, 1 (890), was impaired in March: cp. Fam. x. 27 (827); Phil. xiii. 13-16.

11. *idem praestiteris*] cp. note to Frag. III. 2 (ex libro incerto).

12. *dicitur*] om. Quicherat.
legati] The ambassadors, sent by the senate to Antony, were absent from January 5 to February 2.

13. *facerem*] This word shows that the fragment belongs to a letter from Octavian.

Aquilam] So Gurlitt (p. 12) for *hiquiam* of the mss. We adopt this correction

as almost certain. For Aquila, cp. Brut. i. 16, 8 (914); Fam. xi. 13, 1 (859), and Phil. xi. 14, xiii. 27.

Claternam] cp. Fam. xii. 5, 2 (821), *erat autem Claternae noster Hirtius, ad Forum Cornelium Caesar*. It was on the Via Aemilia, between Forum Cornelium and Bononia.

spurcissima] 'most foul weather.' *Foedus* is often used in this connexion, Liv. xxv. 7, 7.

14. *vindicavissem*] -*casent* or -*cavissent* is given by the mss. This letter was probably written after December 20: cp. Phil. iii. 28, *in possessionem libertatis pedem ponimus*; Fam. xii. 24, 2 (817), *in spem libertatis ingressus sum* . . . *fundamenta ieci rei p.*

15. *Quod mihi*] So ed. 1476 of Nonius. The mss give *quo*: Halm and L. Müller

Epistolarum secundo :
 Epistolae statum, quasi sine sale. M. T.

Sed ita locutus insulse est, ut mirum se-
 perit. (Nonius p. 33, 13.)

2. Ignavum et segne, torpidum, feriatum, et sine ig-
 iuniorem II. libro :

In quo tua me provocavit oratio, mea
 (Idem p. 33, 18.)

3. Constat, convenit, manifestum est. M. Tullius ad

Cum constaret Caesarem Lupercis id v-
 autem poterat id constare? (Idem p. 273, 3)

4. Deicere, elidere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem

Ad statuam nescio cuius Clodi, quam
 Ancone, cum hero deiectam esse ex senatus o-
 p. 288, 25.)

read *quom*, 'touching your grant of leave
 of absence to Philippus and myself, I feel
 a twofold pleasure; for it implies pardon
 for the past, and indulgence for the
 future.' These are the last words of
 Cicero which remain to us. They were
 written in August, after Octavian's elec-
 tion to the consulship. Ruete (p. 4)
 compares Appian iii. 92, Κικέρων δὲ τῶν
 σπονδῶν πυθομενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῶν Καί-
 σαρὸς φίλων ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐντυχῶν
 ἀπελογεῖτο.

16. *sagatus*] So Abeken rightly for

a fragment of

3. *constaret*]

(-et) codd. No

Lupercis] Th

711 (43), with

nues which h

Caesar to the l

bably as an en

of Juliani, wh

in his own hor

Antony high

middle of Mar

6. Insolens, impudens et audax dicitur consuetudine. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Insolens, arrogans, iactans. (Idem p. 322, 11.)

6. Meret, meretur. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Quem perisse ita de re publica merentem consulem doleo. (Idem p. 344, 19.)

7. Secundum, prosperum. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Scriptum erat equestre proelium valde secundum, in his autem potius adversum. (Idem p. 389, 23.)

8. Locupletis non magnarum opum tantummodo, sed et ad quamlibet rem firmos et certos M. Tullius dici voluit ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Nihil omnino certi, neo locupletem ad hoc auctorem habebamus. (Idem p. 462, 10.)

9. Paludamentum est vestis, quae nunc chlamys dicitur. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Antonius demens ante lucem paludatus. (Idem p. 538 sq.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. III.

1. Invehi, adgredi, increpare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. III.:

Itaque in eam Pansa vehementer est invectus. (Nonius p. 329, 26.)

cum hero, 'with the hero himself.' For *Anconae cum hero*, L. Müller reads *Antonius iterum*, but this is far too daring. We venture to suggest that the whole fragment should be read thus: *At est (= e) statua nescio cuius Clodi quam cum restitui iussisset Anconae cum hero deiecit esse ex senatus consulto* (sc. scito, or same such word); and understand the reference to be to Dolabella, who may have erected, at Ancona, a statue to a protégé of his called Clodius, as he appears to have erected a statue of the notorious Clodius at Rome: cp. note to Att. xi. 23, 3 (437). When Dolabella was declared a public enemy his statues, and those of his protégés, were probably pulled down. This was a common proceeding when a great man fell: cp. Mayor on Juv. x. 58. *Cum hero* will then mean 'with the master.'

6. *Quem . . . doleo*] This fragment is taken from a letter written by Octavian. Cicero learned of the deaths of *both* consuls at the same time. As Pansa did not die until the day after the battle, Octavian is

probably here speaking of Hirtius: cp. Fam. xi. 13, 1, 2 (869).

7. *Scriptum erat*] L. Müller supposes a lacuna before *scriptum*, and thinks *in illis* has fallen out. Madvig (A. C. ii. 245) wishes to read *peditis*, or *militis*, for *in his*. Some cavalry engagements took place in March between the forces of Antony and those of Octavian and Hirtius (Dio Cass. xlv. 37).

8. *ad hoc*] *adhuc* L. Müller. It is uncertain to what rumours Cicero is referring—possibly he is complaining of the lack of definite news about Cassius: cp. Fam. xii. 5, 1 (821).

9. *Antonius*] Antony left Rome November 28 or 29, 710 (44). Cicero was then in the country, while Octavian had been in Rome since November 10. Octavian is, accordingly, the informant here. The date of the letter seems to show that *lib. ii.* must be wrong, since *lib. i.* contained letters of February, 711 (43): cp. Frag. 16 above.

III. 1. *eam*] sc. *sententiam*. Ruete (p. 46) refers to Fam. xii. 7, 1 (823),

2. *Anticus et antiquior ut gradu, ita et intellectu distant: nam anticus significat vetus, antiquior melior.* M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. III. :

Ego autem antiquissimum, oriundum Scythis, quibus antiquior laetitia est quam lucrum. (Idem p. 426, 12.)

AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. *Opinio, spes, opinatio.* M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem :

Posthac quod voles a me fieri scribito: vincam opinionem tuam. (Nonius p. 356, 22.)

2. *Promittere est polliceri.* M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem :

Promissa tua memoria teneas. (Idem p. 362, 24.)

VI. AD C. PANSAM EPIST. LIB. I.

1. *Humaniter.* M. Tullius ad Pansam lib. I. :

De Antiocho fecisti humaniter, quem quidem ego semper dilexi meque ab eo diligere sensi. (Nonius p. 509, 17, cf. Priscianum xv. 3, 13 (= 3, 70, 13 K).)

2. *Inaudire, audire.* M. Tullius ad Pansam lib. I. :

Quorum erupit illa vox, de qua ego ex te primum quiddam inaudieram. (Nonius p. 126, 18.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. III.

Concalfacere, exercitare vel incendere vel hortari. Cicero ad Pansam lib. III. :

Nos Ventidianis rumoribus calfacimur. (Nonius p. 92, 18.)

quae mea sententia in senatu facile valuisset nisi Pansa vehementer obstitisset. There is no necessity to alter *eum* to *eum* with Junius.

2. *anticus*] *anticus* and *antiquior* differ in meaning; the former means 'ancient,' the latter not 'more ancient,' but 'more important.'

antiquissimum] 'I consider him a man of the old times, sprung from the Scythians, to whom cheerfulness was preferable to gold.' We do not know to whom Cicero is referring. Madvig, A. C. ii. 245, proposes *antiquus sum, oriundum*; Lucian Müller, *ego autem* (sc. *contendo*) *antiquissimis oriundum Scythiis quibus antiquior iustitia est quam lucrum*, comparing Hom. II. xiii. 6.

EX LIB. INCERT. 1. *vincam opinionem tuam*] cp. Fam. v. 12, 1 (109), *genus enim scriptorum tuorum, etsi erat semper a me vehementer expectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam.*

vi. i. 1. *Antiocho*] So Priscian; *de Antio* (codd. Nonii); *de anno* (ed. princ. Nonii); *de Antistio* (Quicherat), of which L. Müller approves: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3 (93).

2. *inaudieram*] cp. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2, 27; Aul. ii. 2, 88. The word means to overhear by chance, or catch part of a discourse: cp. Fam. ix. 24, 1 (820). In Plautus the form *indaudire* is found.

iii. *Ventidianis rumoribus*] O. E. Schmidt (in Philologus, li., 1892, pp. 200-204) refers this to rumours that Ven-

AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

Barones

dicendum, sicut Cicero ad Pansam. (Gramm. inc. de generibus nominum n. 19 ed. Otto.)

VII. AD A. HIRTII EPIST. LIB. II.

Error masculini est generis. . . . neutri M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. II. :

Qua in re si mediocriter lapsus sum, defendes meum tolerabile erratum. (Nonius p. 204, 10.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. V.

Impertire est participare et partem dare. M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. V. :

Et quoniam, ut hoc tempus est, nihil habeo patriæ quod impertiam. (Idem p. 37, 21.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. VII.

Vetustiscere et veterascere quid intersit, Nigidius commentator grammaticus lib. X. deplanavit : dicemus, quæ vetustate deteriora fiunt, vetustiscere, veterascere, quæ meliora. M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. VII. :

Cum enim nobilitas nihil aliud sit quam cognita virtus, quis in eo, quem veterascentem videat ad gloriam, generis antiquitatem desideret ? (Idem p. 437, 24.)

tidius was raising forces in Apulia and Lucania in the summer of 710 (44), when Cicero was desirous of escaping from Italy. Hence, he thinks, arose the absurd rumour that Cicero fled from Rome in 711 (43) before an attack by Ventidius (Appian iii. 66).

caufacimur] cp. Q. Fr. iii. 2, 1 (150), *Gabinium ad populum luculente calefacerat Memmius*. There is no need to read *con-caufacimur*, with L. Müller : cp. De Orat. ii. 316.

barones] cp. Fam. ix. 26, 3 (479) ; Att. v. 11, 6 (200) ; Fin. ii. 77 ; De Div. ii. 144.

vii. ii. *erratum*] cp. Att. vi. 1, 18 (252) ; Fam. v. 20, 8 (302).

vii. *veterascere*] So cod. Harl. Nonii (m. 1), ed. princ., L. Müller ; *vetustascere* Harl (m. 2), and all other mss.

Nigidius] cp. vol. iv., p. lxxvi. *commentator grammaticus*] Quicherat proposes *Commentariorum grammaticorum*.

dicemus] Nigidius uses the future, as the distinction which he points out is not usually observed.

veterascere] ed. princ. ; *inveterascere* Harl., Guelf.

Tullius] add. ed. princ.

veterascentem . . . ad gloriam] ' ripening with age in renown.' There is no need to alter to *veterascente videat gloriam*, with L. Müller.

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. IX.

Interfici et occidi et inanimalia veteres posse vehementi auctoritate posuerunt. M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. VIII. :

Dicis quasi istuc intereat? nescio, nisi tamen erat mihi iucundum; sed veritus ne qui casus perimeret superioris. . . . (Nonius p. 450, 2.)

AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

Lutum genere neutro; et apud Ciceronem in epistolis ad Hirtium lectum est plurali numero:

Luta et limum adgerebant.

(Idem p. 212, 14, cf. Caprum p. 2244 P. (= 7, 101, 46 K.): Hoc lutum atque macellum *ἐνυκάς* [singulariter] exire memento | Memmius ista macella licet, Caesar luta dicat.)

VIII. AD M. BRUTUM EPIST. LIB. I.

Ex alto; . . . argumentatione longe repetita. Est autem de usu dictum, Cicero primo libro ad Brutum:

Si Pompeius non ex alto peteret et multis verbis me iam hortaretur. (Servius ad Virg. Aen. viii. 395.)

ix. lib. viiii.] Gurlitt (p. 23, note 1) cannot believe in *nine* books of correspondence with Hirtius, which appears to have begun in 708 (46)—cp. Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472); 20, 2 (476)—and ended in 711 (43), when Hirtius was killed; especially when we consider that for a considerable portion of that time Cicero and Hirtius were in the same place.

Dicis . . . intereat] We have retained the reading of the mss, though we do not know to what Cicero is referring, perhaps some generality like 'life' (*aevum*). 'You speak as if that is all passing away; perhaps so, but it was, nevertheless, very pleasant to me.' Just before this passage Nonius had quoted a line of Lucilius in which *intereare* is used as the passive of *interficere*. The ed. princ. of Nonius altered *intereat* to *intereat*, and L. Müller reads *Dicis: quacso istuc <tua> intererat? Nescio: nisi tamen erat mihi iucundum.*

sed veritus . . . casus] So L. Müller. The mss give *severitus nequi casum. superioris . . .*] Some words are lost.

luta et limum] This fragment was probably written by Hirtius, and refers to the siege of Mutina in the foul weather noticed in v. 13.

viii. i. *Si Pompeius*] O. E. Schmidt, in a most ingenious reconstruction of the first book of Cicero's Epistles to Brutus (in *Philologus*, 1890, p. 47), quotes Att. vi. 2, 10 (256), *pro Appio nos hic omnia facimus, honeste tamen, sed plane libenter: nec enim ipsum odimus et Brutum amamus, et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit, quem mehercule plus plusque in dies diligo.* The fragment there means, ['I should have done everything possible for Appius even] if Pompey had not urged his request on most fundamental grounds, and with many words exhorted me to that course.'

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. VII.

Experiri, scire. M. Tullius *epistolarum* ad Brutum lib. VII. :

His contraria atque *disparata*, ut esse solet, expertus sum. (Nonius p. 296, 8.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. VIII.

Vel pro etiam est. M. Tullius *epistolarum* ad Brutum lib. VIII. :

Et quod te tantum amat, ut *vel* me audeat provocare. (Nonius p. 527, 25.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. IX.

Inter amare et diligere hoc interest, quod amare vim habet maiorem, diligere autem est levius amare. Cicero ad Brutum :

Sic igitur facies et me aut amabis aut, quo contentus sum, diliges.

Et libro VIII. :

Lucius Clodius, tribūnus plebis designatus, valde me diligit, vel, ut *ἐμφατικώτερον* dicam, valde me amat. (Nonius p. 421, 27.)

AD EUNDEM EX LIBRIS INCERTIS.

1. Contentus dicitur, cui res etiam parva abunde est. M. Tullius ad Brutum :

Sic igitur facies et me aut amabis aut, quo contentus sum, diliges. (Nonius p. 264, 5 : cf. p. 421, 27.)

2. Aliquando bonis suadentur parum decora, dantur parum bonis consilia, in quibus ipsorum qui consulunt spectatur utilitas. Nec me fallit, quae statim cogitatio

vii. *disparata*] Orelli; *parata* mss. *ut esse solet*] cod. Bern. alter, L. Müller; *ut esse soleat*, all other mss; *ut assolet*, Bardili, comparing Phil. ii. 82. Orelli reads the whole fragment thus, *his contraria ac disparata ut esse soleant expertus sum*.

viii. *vel me*] The mss omit *vel*; it is added in ed. of 1476.

ix. *Sic . . . diliges*] cp. § 2, below. *libro viiii.*] The numeral VIII. is suspicious, as no note of the book had gone before. L. Müller thinks that *Lucius*, written as a correction over *Lucilius*,

gradually became corrupted into *Lib. viiii.*

Lucius Clodius . . . amat] = Brut. i. 1, 1 (873). The same distinction is noticed in Isidore, Diff. 17. L. Müller notes that *diligere* is sometimes stronger than *amare*, as the former is based on reason, the latter on appetite. He refers to St. Augustin, Civ. Dei, xiv. 7, on the distinction generally.

EX LIBRIS INCERTIS. 1. *quo*] ed. of 1476; *quod* (codd. Non. 421); *quid* (codd. 264). At 264 L. Müller reads *qui* (abl.), at 421 *quod*, referring to Kühner, Lat. Gramm. ii. 212.

subire possit legentem: hoc ergo praecipis? et hoc fas putas? poterat me liberare Cicero, qui ita scribit ad Brutum, praepositis plurimis, quae honeste suaderi Caesari possint:

Simne bonus vir, si haec suadeam? minime; suasoris enim finis est utilitas eius, cui quisque suadet. At recta sunt: quis negat? sed non est semper rectis in suadendo locus. (Quintilianus iii. 8, 42.)

3. Argumentum plura significat. Nam et fabulae ad actum scenarum compositae argumenta dicuntur et orationum Ciceronis velut thema exponens Pedianus 'argumentum' inquit 'tale est'; et ipse Cicero ad Brutum ita scribit:

Veritus fortasse ne nos in Catonem nostrum transferremus illum mali quid, etsi argumentum simile non erat. (Quintilianus v. 10, 9.)

4. Recte Cicero his ipsis ad Brutum verbis quadam in epistola scribit:

Nam eloquentiam, quae admirationem non habet, nullam iudico. (Idem viii. 3, 6.)

5. Et quae vetera nunc sunt, fuerunt olim nova, et quaedam sunt in usu perquam recentia. 'Favorem' et 'urbanum' Cicero nova credit. Nam et in epistola ad Brutum

Eum (inquit) amorem et eum, ut hoc verbo utar, favorem in consilium advocabo. (Idem viii. 3, 34.)

6. Maxime in orando valebit numerorum illa libertas; nam et Livius saepe sic dicit 'Romanus proelio victor,' cum Romanos vicisse significat, et contra Cicero ad Brutum

Populo (inquit) imposuimus et oratores visi sumus,

cum de se tantum loqueretur. (Idem viii. 6, 20: cf. § 55.)

2. *si haec suadeam*] In 709 (45) Cicero wrote a letter on public affairs to Caesar, of which mention is made in his letters to Atticus, e.g. xiii. 31, 3 (607). Cicero, in this fragment, implies that in practical matters one must often diverge from ideal morality. Harm would be done by urging Caesar to adopt a thoroughly republican position: it must be sufficient if he be urged to pursue a course which, in the eyes of the constitutionalists, is the least of evils. *Bonus vir* is the ideally moral man.

3. *Catonem*] cp. vol. iv. p. 1.

4. *admirationem*] Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 2, 1, urges a diction that is sometimes out of the common, for men are θαυμαστώ των ἀπόντων, ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν.

5. *favorem*] cp. Sest. 115, *qui rumore et ut ipsi loquuntur favore* ('applause') *populi tenetur*. With regard to this criticism of Quintilian's, Dr. Reid (in Dr. Holden's *Sestius*, l. c.) says, 'As *urbanus* is old enough, and *favor* is used by Sallust, it is clear that Cicero can only have referred to special meanings of the words. In the case of *favor* this passage of the *Sestius* gives the clue. The new sense of *urbanus* was probably that of 'witty,' ἀστεῖος.'

in consilium advocabo] 'call to my support.'

6. *orando*] 'rhetorical style.'

imposuimus] For this sense, cp. Q. Fr. ii. 6, 5 (117), *cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster*.

7. Hanc frequentiore repetitionem *πλοκήν* vocant, quae fit ex permixtis figuris, utque se habet epistola ad Brutum:

Ego cum in gratiam redierim cum Ap. Claudio, et redierim per Cn. Pompeium,
et

ego ergo cum redierim. (Idem ix. 3, 41.)

8. Quae per distractionem fiunt figurae brevitatis novitatisque maxime gratiam petunt, quarum una est, cum subtractum verbum aliquod satis ex ceteris intellegitur, ut Cicero ad Brutum:

Sermo nullus scilicet nisi de te; quid enim potius? tum Flavius 'cras' inquit 'tabellarii, et ego ibidem has inter cenam exaravi.' (Idem ibid. § 58.)

9. Videndum ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae sint, primae sequentis. Id ne quis praecipui miretur, Ciceroni in epistolis excidit:

Res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute. (Idem ix. 4, 41.)

10. Quod si ea in quoque animalium est virtus, qua praestat cetera vel pleraque, ut in leone impetus, in equo velocitas, hominem porro ratione atque oratione excellere certum est, cur non tam in eloquentia quam in ratione virtutem eius esse credamus, recteque hoc apud Ciceronem dixerit Crassus 'est enim eloquentia una quaedam de summis virtutibus,' et ipse Cicero sua persona cum ad Brutum in epistolis tum aliis etiam locis virtutem eam appellet? (Idem ii. 20, 9 sq.)

11. Tres libros [epistolarum Ciceronis excerptarum a Frontone], duos ad Brutum, unum ad Axiu, describi iubebis, si quid rei esse videbitur, et remittes mihi; nam exemplares eorum excerptorum nullos feci. (Fronto p. 107 Naber.)

IX. FRAGMENTA EPIST. BRUTI AD CICERONEM.

1. Composita ab eo (status) varie vetustissimi protulerunt, praesto, praestitum et praestatum. Brutus in epistolis:

Occiso C. Caesare, postquam mare transierat, praestatum est. (Priscianus ix. 7, 38 = 2, 474, 3 K.)

7. *πλοκήν*] cp. xvi. 8, below. *figura*] For the very extended use of this word in Quintilian, cp. ix. 1, 4, *figura*, sicut nomine ipso patet, conformatio quaedam orationis remota a communi et primum se offerente ratione.

ergo] For this resumptive use cp. note to Att. i. 10, 1 (6).

8. *Flavius*] Possibly the man mentioned in Att. xii. 17 (550).

'*cras*,' inquit, 'tabellarii'] sc. *proficiscuntur*: cp. Att. v. 21, 9 (250), *ex Idibus Maiis in Ciliciam* (sc. *proficiscar*).

10. *Crassus*] cp. De Orat. iii. 55.

11. *Tres libros*] The preceding words of Fronto are worth quoting—*Memini me excerptisse ex Ciceronis epistolis ea dum-*

tazat, quibus inesset aliqua de eloquentia vel philosophia vel de re p. disputatio: praeterea siquid eleganti aut verbo notabili dictum videretur, excerpti. Quae in usu meo ad manum erant excerpta misi tibi.

Axiu] see below, XII.

si quid rei esse videbitur] 'if anything seems to be of importance.' *Rei* is predicative dative, like *usui*, 'of use': cp. Roby ii., p. xxxvi.

feci] After this follows the words we have quoted as introductory to the whole correspondence—*Omnes autem Ciceronis epistolas legendas censeo mea sententia, vel magis quam omnes eius orationes. Epistolis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius.*

IX. 1. *praestatum*] This form is found

2. Peius cludit finis hexametri, ut Brutus in epistolis :

Neque illi malunt habere tutores aut defensores, quamquam sciunt placuisse Catoni. (Quintilianus ix. 4, 75.)

3. Brutus de dictatura Cn. Pompeii :

Praestat enim nemini imperare quam alicui servire; sine illo enim vivere honeste licet, cum hoc vivendi nulla condicio est. (Quintilianus ix. 3, 95.)

X. AD M. FILIUM LIB. I.

Sunt quaedam verba, quae, quamvis eandem significationem servant, diversae tamen sunt coniugationis in usu, ut excello excellis et excelleo excelles. Cicero in I. epistolarum ad filium :

Qua re effice et elabora, ut excelleas. (Priscianus viii. 17, 96 = 2, 445, 1 K. : cf. x. 6, 36 = 2, 527, 8 K.)

AD EUNDEM LIB. II.

Commodare, cum commodo dare. M. Tullius ad filium lib. II. :

Cui ego, quibuscumque rebus potero, libentissime commodabo. (Nonius p. 275, 16.)

AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. Deleor, delitus et deletus. Cicero ad filium :

Ceris delitis. (Diomedes p. 372 P. 1, 375, 27 K.)

in Pomponius Digest, 18, 1, 66 (some mss have *praestitum*); *praestatus* occurs in Plin. H. N. xxv. 25 : cp. Neue-Wagener iii³. 575.

2. *illi*] These are probably the Salaminians in Cyprus, of whom Brutus and Cato were patrons : cp. Att. v. 1, 5 (252). Cicero appears to have written to Brutus that he could not tolerate that the Salaminians should be utterly ruined; and that they would be ruined if the demands of Brutus were enforced. He confidently stated to Atticus that the course which he adopted would commend itself to Cato : cp. Att. v. 21, 13 (250), *avunculo eius certe probabitur*; vi. 2, 8 (256), *Catoni certe probabo*. Brutus, in his

usual arrogant manner, replied, Att. vi. 2, 9 (256), *Volunt principes, sc. Scapitium praefectum esse*, and probably in the same letter this fragment occurred. This is the admirably ingenious view of O. E. Schmidt in Philologus, 1890, p. 46.

3. *servire*] This fragment is quite in accordance with the ultra-republican sentiments of Brutus; cp. such passages as Brut. i. 16, 8 (864).

x. i. *excelleas*] Except in this passage, Cicero always uses *excellere*. Neue-Wagener, iii³. 280, quote 34 certain passages. In Balb. 15, Pis. 94, the balance of evidence is much in favour of the third conjugation.

1. *delitis*] cp. xi. i. below.

2. Quam confessus fueris philosophiae veritatem, docent ad filium composita praecepta, quibus mones

Philosophiae quidem praecepta noscenda, vivendum autem civiliter. (Lactantius Inst. iii. 14, 17.)

3. Cicero per epistolam culpatur filium dicens male eum dixisse

Direxi litteras duas,

cum litterae, quotiens epistolam significant, numeri tantum pluralis sint. (Servius ad Virg. Aen. viii. 168.)

4. Nihil ex grammatica nocuerit nisi quod supervacuum est: an ideo minor est M. Tullius orator, quod idem artis huius (grammaticae) diligentissimus fuit et in filio, ut epistolis apparet, recte loquendi asper quoque exactor? (Quintilianus i. 7, 34.)

5. ἐπιστολὰν παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰς τὸν υἱόν, ἐγκελευομένου συμφιλοσοφεῖν Κρατίππῳ. (Plutarchus Cic. c. 24.)

XI. AD C. LICINIUM CALVUM LIB. I.

A deleo deletum, a delino delitum nascitur. Cicero epistularum ad Calvum primo:

Tuli moleste, quod litterae delitae mihi a te redditae sunt. (Priscianus ix. 10, 54 = 2, 490, 8 K.)

Deleor, delitus et deletus. Cicero ad Calvum:

Delitae litterae. (Diomedes 1, 376, 1 K.)

EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. Nunc ad epistolam venio, cui copiose et suaviter scriptae nihil est quod multa respondeam: primum enim ego illas Calvo litteras misi, non plus quam has, quas nunc legis, existimans exituras; aliter enim scribimus, quod eos solos, quibus mittimus, aliter, quod multos lecturos putamus. Deinde ingenium eius maioribus extuli laudibus, quam tu id vere potuisses fieri putas. Primum, quod ita iudicabam; acute movebatur, genus quoddam sequebatur, in quo iudicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen adsequebatur, quod probat. Multae erant et reconditae litterae; vis non erat. Ad eam igitur adhortabar. In excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet, si laudes eum, quem cohortere. (Cicero C. Trebonio ad famil. xv. 21, 4, Ep. 450.)

2. *Philosophiae*] The practical Roman view of the place of philosophy in ordinary life is well expressed in this passage: cp. Ennius 340 Ribb., *Philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis, nam omnino haud placet. [Degustandum ex ea non in eam ingurgitandum censeo]*.

3. *litteras duas*] cp. vol. v., p. lx. note.

5. Κρατίππῳ] cp. note to Fam. xii. 16, 5 (736).

xi. 1. The passage in Diomedes (i.

376, 27, Keil) runs thus, *deleor, delitus et deletus: Cicero ad filium 'ceris delitis.' Varro in praetoriana 'delitae litterae': Calvus alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistola videtur in via delita.'* Oehler and Ritschl refer the *Praetoriana* to Varro's *'Flaxtabula περὶ ἐπαρχιῶν.'* Keil thinks that we should read *Plutotoryne*. Owing to Priscian's quotation, Keil thinks that the quotation from Varro is lost, and that we should read the whole passage as follows: *Cicero ad filium 'ceris delitis,' item ad*

2. Auguro. Cicero ad Calvum:

Praesentit animus et augurat quodam modo, quae futura sit suavitas. (Nonius 469, 10.)

XII. AD. Q. AXIUM.

In familiaribus litteris primo brevitās observanda: ipsarum quoque sententiarum ne diu circumferatur, quod Cato ait, ambitio, sed ita recidantur, ut numquam verbi aliquid deesse videatur: unum rē scilicet, quod intellegentia suppletur, in epistolis Tullianis ad Atticum et Axium frequentissimum est. (C. Iulius Victor, c. 27, p. 448, 5 ed. Halm.)

EX LIBRO I.

1. Adit ad illum. Cicero ad Axium:

Ad M. Bibulum adierunt. (Arusianus Messius 7, 453, 13 K.)

2. Adiuta hoc illos. Cicero ad Axium I. : 7

Si tu nos aliquid adiutare potes. (Idem 7, 453, 23 K.)

EX LIBRO II.

Humaniter. M. Tullius ad Axium lib. II. :

Invitus litteras tuas scinderem; ita sunt humaniter scriptae. (Nonius p. 509, 20.)

EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. De hac (coniuratione) significare videtur et Cicero in quadam ad Axium epistula referens, Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis cogitavit. (Suetonius Iul. c. 9.)

Calvum 'delitae litterae,' alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistola videtur in via delitae,' Varro in Plutotoryns . . . Priscian's view, that *delitus* comes from *delino* is, of course, right: cp. Neue-Wagener iii³. 526.

2. *augurat*] Nonius also quotes for the active form Ennius 245, Pacuvius 78. Neue-Wagener, iii³. 26, add Plaut. Cist. iv. 2, 26; Cic. Rep. iv. 8; Leg. ii. 21; Virg. Aen. vii. 273.

xii. *ipsarum . . . ambitio*] 'that the sentences may not for a long time, as Cato says, continue to display themselves before the public.'

Axium] Q. Axium was a Roman banker with whom Cicero was on intimate terms. He appears as an interlocutor in Varro, R. R. iii. 2. He had a villa at Reate (Varro, l. c. § 10), at which he entertained Cicero in 700 (54): cp. Att. iv.

15, 5 (143). In 706 (49) he appears to have owed Cicero some money, Att. x. 11, 2 (396). In 708 (46) Cicero paid another visit to Axium, Att. xii. 1, 2 (505).

i. 1. *Ad . . . adierunt*] cp. Ter. Andr. iv. 1, 15, *adeamne ad eam*.

2. *adiutare*] cp. Ter. Eun. i. 2, 70, *id adiuta me*. Also with the dative, *adiuta hoc illis*, Ter. Hec. iii. 2, 24.

ii. *Axium*] So cod. Lugdunensis (m. 1); *attium* (Lugd. m. 2, H. G.); *auxilium* (Bamb.). In Fronto 107 Nab. (see above, viii. ii.) there is the same corruption. In Non. 137, 4, where he quotes Varro (453 Büch), *noster Atticus rivalis, homo item lectus in curiam | cum macescebat*; H (m. 1) has *Attius*; the other mss *Atticus*. L. Müller corrects to *Axius*, comparing Varro, R. R. iii. 2.

EX LIBRO INCERTO. 1. *coniuratione*]

2. Quam flebiles voces exprimit (Cicero) in quadam ad Axium epistola iam victo patre Pompeio, adhuc filio in Hispania fracta arma refovente.

Quid agam (inquit) hic, quaeris? moror in Tusculano meo semilibre. (Seneca de brev. vit. c. 5.)

XIII. AD CATONEM.

Plus, sicut in plerisque, [quae] maioris modi [est] quam necessarium est; atque ideo M. Tullius [maius] discrevit epistola ad Catonem:

Neo idcirco mihi deserendam esse dignitatem meam, quod eam multi impugnarint, sed eo magis recolendam, quod plures desiderarint. (Nonius p. 438 sq.)

XIV. AD CAERELLIAM.

1. Etiam illud (potest inter ridicula numerari), quod Cicero Caerelliae scripsit reddens rationem, cur illa C. Caesaris tempora tam patienter toleraret:

Haec aut animo Catonis ferenda sunt aut Ciceronis stomacho;

Stomachus enim ille habet aliquid ioco simile. (Quintilianus vi. 3, 112.)

2. Meminerint eruditi in praeceptis Ciceronis extare severitatem, in epistulis ad Caerelliam subesse petulantiam. (Ausonius in Centonis nuptialis epilogo, p. 218 ed. Peiper.)

XV. AD HOSTILIUM.

Requies accusativo non facit requietem, sed requiem, quamvis Cicero requietem dixerit ad Hostilium. (Charisius p. 85 et 114, P. 1, p. 110, 1 et 142, 7 K.)

The first Catilinarian conspiracy, in 688 (66).

2. *Axium*] So Lipsius; the mss give *ad Actium* and *ad Atticum*. Haase reads the latter: cp. note to ii. above.

semilibre] cp. Att. xiii. 31, 3 (607), written about the same time, in 709 (46), *Obsecro abiciamus ista et semilibre: saltem simus, quod adsequemur et tacendo et latendo*.

xiii. *plus*] If we omit the words in brackets, with L. Müller, a tolerable sense can be imported into this fragment. He supposes *maius* arose from dittography of *Marcus* (so Lugd.), or *M. Tullius*.

deserendam] So Madv. A. C. ii. 245, for *desiderandam* of the mss.

multi] The mss give *multum*; but *multi* forms a better balance to *plures*.

recolendam] 'recovered.' Possibly this fragment is from a letter asking Cato to

use his good offices to secure Cicero a triumph, and thus firmly re-establish his dignity.

xiv. 1. *Caerelliae*] see vol. iv. p. lxxi. *stomacho*] 'irritability': cp. Att. xiv. 21, 3 (728), *stomachor omnia*.

2. *subesse petulantiam*] 'there is a lurking wantonness.'

xv. *ad Hostilium*] We do not know anything about this Hostilius. Martyni-Laguna thinks that we should read *ad Metellum*, and refer it to Fam. v. 14, 1 (585)—Fam. v. being called *ad Metellum*, because the first letter of that book is addressed to Metellus: cp. note to Fragment v. 2, above—a letter from Lucceius to Cicero; but there M has *requiem*, HP *requiem*. Cicero, however, often uses *requietem*, De Sen. 52, Fin. v. 64, Leg. ii. 2, 29; *requiete* De Div. i. 22 (verse): cp. Neue i². 568.

XVI. EX EPISTOLIS INCERTIS.

1. Nec ego illud quidem aposiopesin semper voco, in quo res quaecunque relinquitur intellegenda, ut aequè in epistolis Cicero

Data Lupercalibus, quo die Antonius Caesari;

Non enim obticuit aut lusit, quia nihil hic aliud intellegi poterat quam hoc: 'diadema imposuit.' (Quintilianus ix. 3, 61.)

2. In epistolis Cicero haec Bruti refert verba:

Nec illi sunt pedes, faceti ac deliciis ingredienti molles. (Idem vi. 3, 20.)

3. Piissimus

vituperat Cicero in Philippicis (xiii. 43); tamen Caper ille magister Augusti Caesaris laboravit vehementissime et de epistolis Ciceronis collegit haec verba, ubi dixerat ipse Cicero piissimus. (Pompeius p. 132, Lindem = 5, 154 K.)

4. καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιουμένων δημοσθενίζειν ἐπιφύονται φωνῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἥν πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψας, ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν τὸν Δημοσθένη. (Plutarchus Cic. c. 24.)

Et labuntur aliquando (optimi auctores) et oneri cedunt et indulgent ingeniorum suorum voluptati nec semper intendunt animum, non numquam fatigantur, cum Ciceroni dormire interim Demosthenes, Horatio vero etiam Homerus ipse videatur. (Quintilianus x. 1, 24.)

5. Cicero non contentus in quibusdam epistolis scripsisse, a satellitibus eum (Caesarem) in cubiculum regium eductum in aureo lecto veste purpurea decubuisse floremque aetatis a Venere orti in Bithynia contaminatum, quondam etiam in senatu

xvi. 1. Antonius Caesari] Such ellipses are frequent in the letters, e.g. Att. xii. 5, 3 (681), Tubulus quo crimine (sc. condemnatus sit).

2. faceti] The words in Quintilian which precede this quotation are worth quoting—*facetum quoque non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere: neque enim diceret Horatius* [Sat. i. 10, 44], *facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. Decoris hanc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto: ideoque in epistolis, &c.*

molles] So Badius and Halm, for *mollius* of the mss., 'his feet are charming and move softly as he walks daintily along.'

3. Philippicis] xiii. 43, *Tu porro ne pios quidem sed piissimos quaeris, et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina*

est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis. Pompeius quotes differently—*et hoc piissimis vituperavit Cicero in Philippicis: dicit 'non potest piissimus dici per rerum naturam.' Insultabat Antonio 'Tu' ait 'utere semper hoc verbo piissimus.'* It does not appear in any of the Ciceronian writings which we possess. It is introduced by Haupt into Catull. xxix. 23 (Qu. read there *putissimi*). It is common in post-Augustan writers, e.g. Senec. Controv. ix. 27, 14; Consol. ad Polyb. 7 (26), 4; Tac. Agr. 43: cp. Neue-Wagener ii⁹. 204–5.

4. ἐπιφύονται] 'fasten upon,' 'attack.' For copious examples of the use of this word in Plutarch, see Dr. Holden's note to Plut. Nicias, 10, 3.

Horatio] A. P. 359.

defendenti ei Nysae causam, filiae Nicomedis, beneficiaque regis in se commemoranti 'Remove' inquit 'istaec, oro te, quando notum est et quid ille tibi et quid illi tute dederis.' (Suetonius Iul. c. 49.)

6. P. Ventidium Cicero (auctor est) mulionem castrensis furnariae fuisse. (Plinius N. H. vii. 135.)

7. Parum fortis (Cicero) videtur quibusdam, quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipse, quam praestantissimo suscepit animo. (Quintilianus xii. 1, 17.)

8. *πλοκή*, copulatio, ea figura elocutionis, in qua idem verbum aut nomen, bis continuo positum, diversa significat, ut est illud:

Sed tamen ad illum diem Memmius erat Memmius.

(Aquila Rom. § 28, p. 31, 8 ed. Halm. Martianus Capella de rhet. c. 40, p. 481, 10 ed. Halm.)

XVII. AD CN. POMPEIUM.

1. Hic tu epistolam meam saepe recitas, quam ego ad Cn. Pompeium de meis rebus gestis et de summa re publica misi, et ex ea crimen aliquod in P. Sullam quaeris, et, si furorem incredibilem biennio ante conceptum erupisse in meo consulatu scripsi, me hoc demonstrasse dicis, Sullam in illa fuisse superiore coniuratione. (Cicero pro Sulla, § 67.)

2. Te aiebas de tuis rebus gestis nullas litteras misisse, quod mihi meae, quas ad aliquem misissem, obfuissent: quas ego mihi obfuisse non intellego, rei publicae video prodesse potuisse. (Cicero pro Plancio, § 85.) Significat epistolam non mediocrem ad instar voluminis scriptam, quam Pompeio in Asiam de rebus suis in consulatu gestis miserat Cicero, aliquanto, ut videbatur, insolentius scriptam, ut Pompei stomachum non mediocriter commoveret, quod quadam superbiore iactantia omnibus se gloriosis ducibus anteponeret. Obfuerunt autem revera: nam sic effectum est, ut ei Pompeius contra Clodianam vim non patrocinaretur. (Schol. Bob. in orat. p. Plancio p. 270 sq. ed. Or.)

3. Excipit, opprimit vel circumvenit. M. Tullius ad Pompeium lib. IIII.:

Quod si est, non modo iter meum interclusum, sed me ipsum plane exceptum putabat.

5. *Nysae*] Nysa was a common name of princesses in Asia Minor. A sister and a daughter of Mithridates the Great, the wives of Nicomedes II. and III. of Bithynia, also bore this name.

Nicomedis] the Third, who reigned 91 to 74 B.C.

6. *furnariae*] 'of the camp bakery.' So Turnebus, Adv. 29, 18, for *fusinariae*, or *fusinariae* of the mss.

7. *timidum*] Baiter refers to Fam. vi. 21, 1 (573), *me timidum esse dicebant—eram plane: timebam enim ne evenirent ea quae acciderunt.*

8. *πλοκή*] cp. VIII. 7, above.

Memmius] cp. vol. iii., p. lxxvi. We can form no conjecture as to the day referred to.

XVII. 1, 2. *epistolam*] Cicero doubtless did write a rather arrogant and self-laudatory letter to Pompey concerning his services to the state in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy. The cold tone of Pompey's reply may be gathered from Cicero's answer to that reply, Fam. v. 7, 2, 3 (13).

3. *Quod si*] These two quotations are found in Att. viii. 11 D, 2, 3 (343), except that for *est M* has *ita esset*, and for *putabat* it has *putabam*.

Et rursum :

Admoniti sumus ut caveremus ne exciperemur a Caesare.
(Nonius p. 293, 19.)

XVIII. EPISTOLARUM ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ.

Mearum epistolarum nulla est συναγωγή, sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae: eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam; tum denique edentur. (Cicero ad Att. xvi. 5, 6, Ep. 770.)

XIX. AD ATTICUM.

1. Vid. supra, p. 47, xii. lib. inc. n. 2.

2. Vectigaliorum

Cicero ad Atticum. (Charisius p. 118, P. 1, p. 146, 31, Keil.)

3. Sed et dativo casu idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum :

Propius grammatico accessi. (Diomedes, p. 405, P. = 1, 410, 8, K.

XX. AD GORGIAM. AD HERODEM. AD PELOPEM.

ἐπιστολαὶ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰς τὸν Ἡρόδην, ἔτεραί δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πέλον, . . .
Γοργίαν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα αἰτιώμενος εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους προάγειν τὸ μειράκιον

xix. 2. *Vectigaliorum*] Cicero usually adopts the form *vectigalium*, Rull. ii. 15. The form *vectigaliorum* is, however, used by Varro and Asinius Pollio, Suet. Aug. 101; Cal. 16; C. I. L. iii. 249: cp. Neue i². 287.

3. *Sed et*] The whole passage in Diomedes is given as follows in Keil's text: *Prope, prope me est, ut dicit Cicero in Pisonem dixit. Item 'proximus Pompeium sedebam': sed et dativo casu idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum 'propius grammatico accessi.'* Halm (p. 1067 of Orelli's Cicero) thinks that *prope me est* occurred in a lost portion of the *in Pisonem*: he reads *ut dicit Cicero in Pisonem: dixit idem 'Proxi-mus, &c.'* In Att. i. 14, 3 (20) M has *Pompeio*, but Z (= the Tornesianus), on the evidence of Lambinus, has *Pompeium*. Cicero, in his speeches and philosophical works, always uses *propius*, Phil. vi. 5, vii. 26; *proxime*, Mil. 59, Phil. x. 26, with the accusative, but never *propior*, *proximus* with a simple accusative. However, that construction is found in the Ciceronian and Augustan ages: cp. *propior*, Hirtius, B. G. viii. 9; Sall. Jug. 49; *proximus*, Caes. B. G. iii. 7, 2; Liv. viii. 32, 12. For other examples see Dräger i. 589. Keil suggests the following re-

storation of the passage of Diomedes—*prope, 'prope me' ut dicit Cicero (omitting in Pisonem): sed et dativo casu idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum 'Proxi-mus Pompeio sedebam': item 'propius grammatico accessi'; or as follows—prope, 'prope me est' ut dicit Cicero . . .; item 'Proxi-mus Pompeium sedebam' idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum: sed et dativo casu iungitur 'propius grammatico accessi.'* The first example he thinks may be Fam. vii. 23, 4 (126), or Mil. 59. Possibly *propius grammatico accessi* is due to some grammarian.

There can be no question but that *Pompeium* was the reading of the archetype, as it is found both in the Tornesianus and in Diomedes. Lehmann (De epistulis ad Att. recensendis, pp. 163-4) rightly points to this passage as showing that an excessive respect must not be paid to M.

xx. Ἡρώδην] He appears to have been one of the authorities at the University of Athens, with whom Cicero has correspondence about his son's conduct, Att. xiv. 16, 3 (721); xv. 16a (746). Cicero does not appear to have thought much of him as an author, cp. Att. ii. 2, 2 (28).

ἀπελαύνει τῆς συνοσίας αὐτοῦ. καὶ σχεδὸν αὕτη τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μία καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς Πέλοπα τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν ὁργῇ τινι γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν αὐτοῦ προσηκόντως ἐπικρίπτοντος, εἶπερ ἦν φαῦλος καὶ ἀκόλαστος, ἢ περ ἐδόκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πέλοπα μικρολογουμένου καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦντος ὥσπερ ἀμελήσαντα τιμὰς τινὰς αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ Βυζαντίων γενέσθαι. (Plutarchus, Cic. c. 24.),

[XXI. AD MARCELLUM.]

Cicero ad Marcellum

Simiolum

deminutive dixit. (Charisius, p. 84, P. = 1, 108, 26, K.)]

Γοργίαν] cp. note to Fam. xvi. 21, 6 (786).

Πέλοπα] cp. note to Att. xiv. 8, 1 (710).

ἢ περ ἐδόκει] 'as he was considered to be.'

μικρολογουμένου καὶ μεμψι-

μοιροῦντος] 'written in a small-minded and querulous manner.'

xxi. ad Marcellum] Fabricius suggests ad Marium: cp. Fam. vii. 2, 3 (182), *hic simiolus animi causa me in quom involetur delegerat.*

ADDENDA TO THE COMMENTARY.

I.—OCTAVIUS, OCTAVIANUS, CAESAR.

(FAM. XVI. 24, 2, EP. DCCCVI.)

IN a learned and careful discussion on the use of these names, as applied to Julius Caesar's nephew, Dr. O. E. Schmidt, in the *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1884, p. 1, has arrived at the following results:—

1. Up to May, 710 (44), 'young Octavius' had not gone through the formal of adoption (cp. Lange, R. A. iii. 507), and, accordingly, is called by Cicero *Octavius*. Att. xiv. 5, 3 (707); 6, 1 (708); 10, 3 (713); 11, 2 (714); 12, 2 (715); 20, 5 (721, 4 (728); xv. 2, 3 (732). And though his friends called him *Caesar*, his father, Philippus, called him *Octavius*.

2. On June 9th we find Cicero calling him *Octavianus*, as all the recognition formalities of adoption had been completed, and the adoption approved by the people. Att. xv. 12, 2 (745): also in the letters of the autumn he calls him *Octavianus*: 797, 1; 799, 6; 805, 1; 806, 2 (where H. Erf. rightly have *Octavianus*, while M. have *Octavius*). So, too, Pollio in 711 (43); 890, 3, 4.

3. In consequence of the cordial relations which subsisted between Cicero and Octavian after their union against Antony, in November, 710 (44), Cicero calls him *Caesar*: cp. 811, 2; 816, 2; 819, 3; 821, 2; 886, 2; 893, 1, 2; as did Matius Augustus of the same year, Fam. xi. 28, 6 (785). Similarly D. Brutus, 854, 4; 859, 877, 14; Galba, 841, 4; Plancus, 916, 4, 5, 6, 8.

4. In the correspondence with Brutus Cicero calls him *Caesar Octavianus* 842, 2, and *Caesar*, 844, 1; 846, 4; 897, 4; 913, 2; 914, 6, 9. So does Brutus 866, 4, 5. Yet suddenly *Octavius* re-appears in the two manifestoes, 864, 1, 2, 8, 11; 865, 5, 6: cp. note to 864, 1.

II.—THE LEGIONS ENGAGED IN THE CAMPAIGN NEAR MUTINA.

(FAM. x. 33, 4, EP. DCCCXC.)

‘*HIRTINO autem proelio et quartam legionem et omnes peraeque Antonii caesas, item Hirtii: quartam vero, cum castra quoque Antonii cepisset, a quinta legione concisam esse; ibi Hirtium quoque perisse et Pontium Aquilam.*’

Antony had the 2nd, 5th, and 35th legions, besides two praetorian cohorts (841, 1); Hirtius had the 4th and 7th legions (Phil. xiv. 27) and two praetorian cohorts (841, 1).

As the 4th legion was under the command of Hirtius, it was argued by Mendelssohn (*Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1891, pp. 343–4), that the first sentence above cannot be right. Manutius had altered *quartam* (IV.) to *secundam* (II.), a very slight change. But Mendelssohn asks, how could Pollio, who is at least a tolerable writer, use such an expression as *omnes peraeque Antonii* for two legions only (viz. 5 and 35)? He considers *peraeque* stands for *p r a e t.* (= *praetorias*); and that we should read—(a) if Pollio first speaks of the Republican forces, *Hirtino autem proelio et IV. (or VII.) legionem et omnes praet. Antonii caesas, item Hirtii: VII. (or IV.) vero, &c.*; or (b) if he speaks of the forces of Antony, *Hirtino autem proelio et II. legionem et omnes praet. Antonii caesas, item Hirtii; IV. (or VII.) vero, &c.* He also thinks that probably *omnes* stands for *cortes* (= *cohortes*).

We venture to suggest another interpretation with some diffidence. Possibly *item Hirtii* was originally *I. Hirtii* (= *id est Hirtii*), and was a gloss either on *peraeque* (‘as much as those of Hirtius’), or on *quartam legionem*, in order to signify to whom it belonged. Then, if we bear in mind the distinction between *caesas* and *concisas*, we may translate, ‘In the battle which Hirtius fought one of his legions, the 4th, sustained severe loss, as did all those of Antony to an equal extent; the 4th indeed, when it took the camp of Antony also (as well as winning the battle), was cut to pieces by the 5th, and on that occasion Hirtius and Pontius Aquila lost their lives.’ There is no difficulty in using *omnes* of three legions, just as in English we can say ‘all the three,’ but not ‘all the two.’ *Peraeque* is a word used by Cicero, Att. ii. 8, 1 (35); 19, 2 (46); Verr. iv. 46.

‘*Ventidium quoque se cum legione VII., VIII., VIII. coniunxisse.*’ Manutius feels a difficulty in these numbers, for the 7th legion was with Hirtius, and the 8th took no part in the war (Phil. xi. 37). Furthermore, as Ventidius, on his own responsibility, had enrolled three legions from the veterans of Caesar (App. B. C. iii. 66), it is difficult to suppose that regular official numbers would have been attached to the legions formed by such irregularly raised forces; or, even if Ventidius had given them such numbers, that Pollio would have known and recognized them. Mendelssohn, accordingly, writes *Ventidium quoque se cum leg. (= legionibus) III. (= tribus) veteranorum coniunxisse*; he considers that the words *III. veteranorum* were corrupted into *VII., VIII., VIII.* With respect to the forces of Ventidius he compares D. Brutus, 854, 3, *Hoc accessit manus Ventidii quae . . . se cum Antonio*

— being additions to a regularly recognized series of numbered, Pollio would naturally speak of them by number. I may suppose that Pollio's informant spoke of them in this way. Schmidt thinks that Antony had II., III., V. (= I., II., IV.) and that Octavian had IV. and Martia (= I. ?); and that

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

[Ut saepe diximus quaecunque ex Pal. allata sunt omnia Mendelssohnio debemus.]

EP. DCCCLXXXVII. (FAM. X. 1).

1. medio] Man. vulg.; meo libri. factis] Pal²; facetiis Pal¹ M (ex facetiis); facetus H. mi] H Pal; me M. tempus] om. H Pal. impotentissimi] libri; impudentissimi alii.
2. cum] om. H. tuaeque curae] H; om. M Pal.
3. etiam] Wes.; tamen libri, quod vix retineri posse in Comm. docuimus.
4. iudicii] libri, recte, vide Comm.; studii Pluygers, Lehmann.

EP. DCCCLXXXVIII. (FAM. X. 2).

2. neque officium] Pal²; eque off. Pal¹; aequae off. MH. necesse sit] H Pal; necessit M. poterunt] H, Dresd. tertius; potestur M; possunt Pal¹ Harl. 2591.

EP. DCCCLXXXIX. (FAM. X. 3).

1. ignotam] Harl. 2591 et alii codd.; ignatam M; ignaram H Pal, fort. recte; nam etsi ignarus non invenitur apud Ciceronem sensu passivo, tamen nonnunquam ita verbo utuntur et Sallustius et Tacitus, cf. Kritzk. ad Jug. 18, 6; Cat. 10, 4.
2. tuo constitutam] om. constitutam codd. aliquot; fort. ex consociatam Or. debere esse] Vict., Btr., Wes.; habere

esse M; habere et esse H Pal; habere Ern. Pro statuo habere esse luculenter coni. C. F. W. Müller statutum habeo esse, coll. Fam. iv. 2, 4 (389); vi. 2, 1 (575); xii. 25, 5 (825).

3. te arbitrabar] M; prudenter (prudenter H) te arbitrabar H Pal, quod legere debuimus.

in] add. Ern.

orbitate] orbitata M.

devexata] divexata Lamb., Wes.

EP. DCCXC. (FAM. XII. 2).

1. in me] H Pal; inter me M. modo] M; quomodo H Pal. commentatus] M; commendatus H Pal, idemque mox commendatio. vomere suo more] H Pal; vomeres vomere M.
2. qui quia] qui quia <quae> Crat. Btr. Wes. C. F. W. Müller conicit libereque. senserint] senserint <quaeque senserint> Lehmann, haud necessario; vid. Comm.
3. dignum] om. H. sin id] M; si id H Pal. qui si quae ad me referent] H Pal; qui sive ad me referent M (cum rasura duarum litterarum post me); qui sive ad me referent <sive non referent> Orelli, Mendels. : qui si quidem ad me referent Rühl. mea tibi tamen] mea tibi tamen in M; mea tibi H Pal, fort. recte; sed tamen elliptice usurpari videtur hoc sensu, — (etsi auxilium vel parvum vel nullum adferre potero) tamen benevolentia praestabitur; Anglice 'at any rate.'

EP. DCCXCI. (FAM. XII. 3).

1. optime] M; optimo H Pal.
 vi] ^{ui} *sex* H, vid. Comm.
 2. Cannutio] libri; a fratre Lucio
 Cobet.

EP. DCCXCII. (FAM. XII. 23).

1. dignitas] *dignitas* <est> Lamb.
 eo, quae] H Pal; *eoque* M.
 et animi et ingenii] Mendelssohn; et
 animi ingenii MH; et animi ingenui Pal;
 animi et ingenii Frag. Heilbronnense.
 fers a te] H Pal Frag. Heilbr. (sed id
 fere); *feritea* M; *fers ea* Vict.
 2. Antonius autem] om. autem H.
 A. d.] itaque a. d. H Pal.
 3. in quo] Ern.; in qua libri.

EP. DCCXCIII. (FAM. XVI. 25).

- intermissionis] Crat.; *intermissione*
 libri; de intermissione alii.
 nuntiis certior fio] M Pal; nuntiis H;
 nuncius Erf.
 perscribit] M Pal; *perscribis* H Erf.
 minima] M Pal; *minime* H Erf.
 desiderem] M Pal Erf.; *desiderarem*
 H.

EP. DCCXCIV. (ATT. XV. 13).

1. tu edendum] Vict.; *tuenda* M.
 2. quod scribis] quo scribis M.
 legiones] C; *legationes* M.
 3. iam probō] Man.; *improbo* M.
 Ἡρακλειδεῖον] k; ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΕΡΟΝΙ
 M.
 mavis] *maius* M.
 licet enim] ins. Lehm.; ad scribendum
 tibi, vere dicam Or.
 acriorem] *alacriorem* Lamb.
 ad tuum] ut tuum M.
 quod egerit] M, quam lect. bene vin-
 dicavit Lehm.; *quid egerit* Man.; *quid-*
quid egerit Peerlk. Vid. ad Ep. 754, 1.
 Gallo Caninio] Corrad.; *Gallo animo*
 M.
 O hominem] O om. M.
 4. Selicia] M; *Servilia* Man. Corrad.;
 fort. *Cilicia*.
 † non qua pompa] *adsuevisset* ins. edd.
 nonnulli; *nunc ad Pompeium coni.* Boot.;
non magna pompa Fr. Schmidt.

EP. DCCXCV. (ATT. XV. 13a).

5. est. Etsi] Or.; *sed si* M.
 monetalis] Schütz; *homo talis* M.
 quivis] Mal.; *quis* M.
 scribes] *scribis* M.
 commovebit] me ins. Boot. et W
 frustra, ut docet Lehm.
 6. φιλοσοφούμεν] R; *philosophia*
 M.
 καθήκοντος] ΚΑΘΟΝΤΟΣ M.
 pateat] *pateat* M; *pareat* Wes.
 7. perlatam. Hui] C; *praebuit* l
 quid ad me] M, quod iure vind
 Lehm.; *quid id ad me* Wes.

EP. DCCXCVI. (FAM. XI. 4).

2. bellicosissimis] H Pal; *bellicosis*

EP. DCCXCVII. (ATT. XVI. 8).

1. quiqui] M; *qui quidem* Boot., fr
 recte; *qui* Or. Wes.
 2. quendam] *quondam* M.
 sub signis] Man.; *sub signis* M.
 εὐκαιρίας] ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑΝ M.
 venio . . . maneo . . . fugiam] ;
 veniam . . . maneam . . . fugiam W

EP. DCCXCVIII. (ATT. XVI. 9).

- uno die] in die M.
 addit] Man.; *adiit* M.
 ille] *illa* M.
 σκηπτομαι] Mal.; ΣΚΕΠΤΟΜΑΙ M
 mihi non sic] Boot.; *mihi non* l
 mihi non si Zb et Crat.

EP. DCCXCIX. (ATT. XVI. 11).

1. Nonis] *non hiis* M.
 ἔσθῃ] Lamb.; *ante* M.
 florentiora] C; *florientia* M.
 † Asta ea] M; *ast* Vict.; *at et!* Bos
 ab ista Boot; a Septimia nos; *heu tu al*
 aut] ut M.
 sciant] Vict.; *sciam* M.
 † sine vallo Luciliano] *sine felle* cor
 Or.; *sine φραγμῇ* nos.
 ex Galli Fadii filia] marg. ed. Lam
 1584; *ex galifa disfilia* M.
 quod fuit illis IIIviris] M; *quo fueri*
 illi IIIviri Gron.
 nisi facete] I; *facete nisi* M.
 Caleni] *talem* M.

2. ἀδελσχος] Vict.; αἰδωεαεσχοx M.

esset] Kl.; et M; sit Corrad.
ac tamen] Wes.; attamen M.
isto] ista M.
bella] MC; Dolabella c.
ter contra] Corrad.; per contra M.
indignissimum est hunc] Bos.; in-
dignius esse hunc M; nil indignius, esse
quam hunc coni. Btr. Kl.

3. Ἡρακλειδεϊον] ΗΡΑΚΔΕΙΑΕΙΟΝ M.
O TITE] M; librum meum illum O
Tite Zl.

4. absolvi] Man.; absolvit M.
κατὰ] KA M.
5. Di istis] Bos.; de istis M.
6. ob hoc] ab hoc M.
7. interpre] Vict.; in tres M.
eis Valerius] Vict.; ei Valerium M.
8. feriis] Corrad.; feris M.
negotiole sciturum] negotio lositurum
M.

des volo] des volo. Oppii Z; de sua-
loppi M.

EP. DCCC. (ATT. XVI. 12).

epistolae] epistolam M.
Bonum animum. De] Vict.; bonam
enim unde M.

EP. DCCCL. (ATT. XVI. 10).

1. vii. Id.] Lallemand.; CN M.
Caesariana] R; Caesarina M.
v] Mongault.; y M.
2. Attice, tota mente] ANIEETO tamen
te M.
Sinuessano] suasseno M.

EP. DCCCLII. (ATT. XVI. 13a).

1. ad eas] Man.; ad has M.
2. altera] alteras M.
Μῆλα] MIMA M.
ἐν] εν MC.
mala] Popma; inata M; matta Z.

EP. DCCCLIII. (ATT. XVI. 13 b).

1. an etiam] ante tam M.
putes] Corrad.; putas M.
manabit] manebit M.

VOL. VI.

EP. DCCCLIV. (ATT. XVI. 13 c).

1. temere] Lamb.; timere M¹; del.
M².
2. censoribus] ins. Crat.

EP. DCCCLV. (ATT. XVI. 14).

2. in Tusculano] in Tusculanum M.
idne] marg. ed. Lamb.; no id M, k,
Wes., fort. recte.
an hic] Or.; an hoc M.
3. quadret] C. F. W. Müller; caderet
M.
consulum] consultum M.
imperatoris officium] Crat.; om. M.
4. omni] omnia M.
avi tui] Mur.; qui tui M; Quintus
tui alii: Quintus avi tui Ursin.
explicaturum] explicatorem MC.
scribes] scribis M.

EP. DCCCLVI. (FAM. XVI. 24).

1. darem] da M.
de] om. M.
saepius] M Pal; om. H Erf.
Ian] libri recte, ut demonstrat Rustius
vid. Comm.; Iun edd. nonnulli.
conficies] MH Erf.; conficias Pal.
rebus] vulg. Wes.; eius M; om. H.
Pal Erf.
2. Octavianus] H Erf. recte ut O. E.
Schmidtus aliis rationibus enucleavit;
Octavius M Pal. Vid. Addenda ad Comm.
Sed st!] Man.; sed si M; sed (om. si)
H Pal Erf. fort. recte, de quo in Comm.
disputavimus.
Hirtium] H Pal; Hyium Erf.; om. H
(spatio relicto).
quod egerint] Hanc librorum lectionem
praeclare vindicavit Lehmann; vid.
Comm. tam ad hunc locum quam ad Fam.
xvi. 23, 1 (754).

EP. DCCCLVII. (ATT. XVI. 15).

1. quod dicam] quid dicam M.
ut illum] R, Or.; cui illum M; cur
illum Man.; qui illum Boot.; me ante
mea om. M.
deseruerit . . . fuit] R; deseruit . . .
fuerit M.
2. συσπῶνται] ΔΥΩΜΙΑΝ M.
appellentur] Bos. et Lamb.; appelle-
mur M; non appellenus Or.; non appel-
lentur cum Ursin. k.

Y

proc. introd.] *procuratorem interducere* M.

nec dubito] C; *et dubito* M.

3. potest et] Gron.; *postea* M; *post principia* (coll. Sest. 118) Or.; edd. ali *postea* delent, alii *retundere* legunt; *multum potest* Wes.; sed *posse* absolute positum pro *pollere* recte se habere docet Lehm.

Oppio] *Appio* M.

nullo] *ullo* M.

ni mihi] *ni* om. M.

perspiciemus] Vict.; *persciemus* MC.

reliquum est] *reliquo inest* = *reliquom est* M.

tabellarios] *tabellarius* M.

quod scribas] Lamb.; *quid scribas* M.

στρατάλας] Bos.; *stratillax* M.

delectus] *dilectus* M.

gradu] *gradus* M.

4. priores] *et si res* malit Boot.

commota] *commoda* MR.

5. aut sit] Vict.; *ausit* M¹; *ea sit* M².

rem] *res* Boot.; recte, ut videtur.

solvam] Man.; *solum* M.

Terentiae] Lamb.; *Terentiam* M.

pudentissime] *prudentissime* solito errore M.

uti de suo] Vict.; *inde* (vel *vide*) suo M; *fide sua* Z.

Erotique] *pro teque* M.

ut sepositum] *ut se positum* M.

Non modo sed] M; *non modico sed* Btr.; *non modo versurum facere sed* cum Pio Wes.

Cocceii responsum] *Coccei rusum* M.

si quisquam male intellegit] *si quicumque male intellegit* Boot.; sed vid. Comm.

6. consenti . . . sum] nos; *consenti in hac cura vixi sum* M; *mecum pro ubi sum* Boot.; *contende pro consenti* Wes.; *contendi* Kl.; *consensui* Madv. (Adv. Crit. iii. 192).

venit quidem] *veni quidem* M.

certi] Or.; *certe* M.

EP. DCCCVIII. (FAM. X. 4).

1. scii] *sciis* M; *scivi* H Pal.

3. committam] *omittam* libri.

4. ut sciam] Vid. Comm.

mutuo] H Pal; *multo* M.

EP. DCCCIX. (FAM. XI. 5).

1. Idus] libri; *Kal Ruete*; vid. Comm. optabam] H Pal; *ortabam* M¹; *ortabar* M²; *optaram* Wes.

2. certo] *certe* H.

spem] om. H Pal.

3. ea] vel del. Boot. (Obs. Crit. 'ut faciamus Ciceronem de more scriitem,' vel in iam mutat.

mea] om. H.

ipsi] oodd. aliquot; *ipse* M Pal; H.

tuis] *me tuis* libri.

EP. DCCCX. (FAM. X. 5).

1. attulerunt] MH; *protulerunt* l Vid. Comm.

3. quod sentiam] libri; *quid sent* Wes.

non potuisses] M² Btr. Wes.; *potuisset* M¹; *feri non potuisset* H l quod legere debuimus.

proprie] Lamb., coll. Fam. ix. 14 (481); *proprium* libri.

faveo] *suadeo* L. Müller, Wes., h. necessario.

EP. DCCCXI. (FAM. XI. 7).

2. volo] Wes.: *volam* libri; *volui et velim* alii; *velim* C. F. W. Mül Vid. Comm.

est res] *et res* libri.

civesque] *cuiusque* H.

dementes] *clementes* H: cf. 825, 1 legionem quartam] M Pal; om. gionem H.

3. proxime] *proximo* H: cf. M in A iv. 18, 6 (154), ubi *proximo* a plerisque edd. et a nobis ipsis in proximis mutat sed dubitamus an recte.

ita animatus] Pal; *sit an.* M¹;

an. M²; *et an.* H.

non ut nihil] *ut non nihil* H.

EP. DCCCXII. (FAM. XI. 6).

1. dignitatem] del. Ern. sine cau cf. Lehmann, p. 42.

2. non venire] om. non H.

3. contione] M; *conventiones* H (*et man. prima*); *contentione* Pal.

EP. DCCCXIII. (FAM. XII. 22).

Ganter (Philologus, 1894, p. 140) libello de Q. Cornificio putat §§ 1-2 una esse epistolam, circiter idem tempus ac 1, 2 (787, 788) scriptam. §§ 3-4 altera esse epistolam ad finem anni pertinentem

1. nos] H Pal; non M.
nostro] vestro libri.
- arbitror] M; arbitrator H Pal.
2. tyrannoctoni] M; tyranni octoni H Pal.
3. senatus frequens] senatus aut frequens libri. Vid. Comm.
4. adeptus] MH; consecutus Pal.

EP. DCCCXIV. (FAM. XVI. 26).

1. poenam] ponam M.
commentata] M: commendata H Pal Erf.
2. lagonas] M; lagoenas H Pal; laogenas Erf.

EP. DCCCXV. (FAM. XVI. 27).

1. tua] add. Wes.
de consulibus] Pal; de cos. M; quos H Erf.
animi] om. Pal Ern.
2. sciam] Wes.; scio M Pal; om. H Erf. Vid. Comm.
Cossutianarum] M; quos sutianarum H Erf. Pal.
feram in oculis] Ern. C. F. W. Müller; om. in libri.

EP. DCCCXVI. (FAM. XI. 8).

1. qui quid] M² Pal; quidquid M¹; qui quid H.
2. meus] om. H.

EP. DCCCXVII. (FAM. XII. 24).

1. laudandi . . . ornandi] ornandi . . . laudandi Gronov. Vid. Comm.
hoc est animi] om. H Pal.
2. defendi] libri; defendendi Ern. Btr., praeter necessitatem.
3. procurat] procurata M.
plurimum . . . facies] plurimum ea tibi commendo tamen sed non debeo commendare facies H.

EP. DCCCXVIII. (FAM. XII. 4).

1. reliquiarum nihil fuisset] M; om. H; Pal supra lineam a man. sec. me] M; mehercule H Pal, fort. recte. infimo] M; infimum H Pal.

Philippo] M; ni lippo H; Nilippo Pal.

legatis nihil] om. H.
nuntiarent] libri; denuntiarent Gronov. vix recte; vid. Comm.

2. te esse in Syria] Kl.: cf. verba proxime sequentia et 821, 1, 'loquebantur omnes in Syria te esse'; isse in Syria M; isse in Syriam H Pal, Crat. marg. haud bene.
cito] om. H.

EP. DCCCXIX. (FAM. X. 20).

1. epulas] M Pal²; epistulas (eplas) H Pal¹.
in] om. libri.
2. egique] eique H.
animi . . . viribus] M, marg. habet sile obsecro manu recentiori; vid. Comm.
Servio] servitio H Pal.

EP. DCCCXX. (FAM. IX. 24).

1. Rufum] rursum H.
possem] possum H.
me virum] Wes.; meum MH; me mecum Pal; me unum Btr.; meum <animum> Kl., C. F. W. Müller.
2. itare desisse] M Pal¹; ita resedisse H Pal².
exposuissem . . . superiore] om. H¹; add H² in summa pagina.
3. sed] M; et H Pal.
iocum] Pal; locum MH.
id est . . . concenationes] del. Boot (Obs. Crit. 20).
4. mecum] meum H.

EP. DCCCXXI. (FAM. XII. 5).

1. simile veri] Pal; simile vere (vel vero) M; veri simile H.
2. reliquum] Lamb.; reliqui libri.
Claternae] M; datne H; daternas Pal.
Forum Cornelium] M, cf. Strabo 216; forum Cornelii H Pal, Dio Cass. xlv. 35, 7; forum Corneli Plin. H. N. iii. 116.
compararat] Pal Mendelss.; comparat MH; comparabat Ern. Andr.

EP. DCCCXXII. (FAM. XII. 11).

1. fortissimo animo] M; fortissime (om. animo) H Pal.
eduxit] duxit H.
quattuorque . . . scito] om. Pal.

2. quantum est in te] Pal; *quantum in te est* H; om. *in te* M.
non deesse] Pal; om. *non* MH; *adesse* Btr.; vid. Comm.
optima spe et maximo animo] M; *optimo et maximo animo* Pal; *optimo maximoque animo* H.
aget] *agat* H.
vale] *valde* M.
d] *dilecte* H Pal.

EP. DCCCXXIII. (FAM. XII. 7).

1. a tribuno] Pal; *ad tr.* MH. De *ab et ad* inter se confusis vide C. F. W. Müller.
nihil unquam] *nunquam* H.
malebam] *valebant* Krause, Wes., C. F. W. Müller; *movebant* Orelli.
2. et] om. libri.
istis] M; *his* M Pal.
ipse vincas] Ern.; *ipovincas* M; *ipsum vincas* H Pal, quod fortasse legere debui-
mus.

EP. DCCCXXIV. (FAM. X. 31).

1. scrutantur] *scrutatur* M.
2. movear] *moveare* libri.
nihil non] *del. non* Cobet, male; vid. Comm.
utrubique] M; *utrobique* H Pal, quam formam Schmalz praefert (Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Pollio, p. 9) ut ab antiquis Varrone (L. L. 190, 248 m.) Plauto (Mil. 466), ab Horatio poeta (Ep. i. 6, 10) usurpatam.
plane] om. Wes.; *essem plane, pericula* Lehmann.
3. probarit] *probant* H.
atque ita] M; *atqui ita* H; *atque vi ita* Pal.
4. senatui] M² H Pal; *senatu* M¹.
quod . . . fuit] om. H.
5. nemo] cf. Bücheler Rhein. Mus. xi. 519; *ne* libri.
traditurum] *tradituram* M.
tricensima] M; *tricesima* H Pal: cf. Schmalz, p. 12.
contentiones] *contiones* libri.
6. numero] *<in>* numero Lamb. Btr. De hoc loco docte disputavit C. F. W. Müller.
id] om. libri.
provincia an ducendo] *provincia manducando* M; *provinciam an ducendo* H.
possunt] *possint* Wes., vix necessario; vid. Comm.
misi] *mihi* M.

EP. DCCCXXV. (FAM. XII. 25, 1-6

1. altero vicenaimo] *altero vicom hodie* M; *altera vice summo die* H.
meo] vel simile quod ut *omnium*, *ne* addendum est.
ut] *aut* M.
clementior] *dementior* H, cf. 811.
3. graecum tempus] M; *caecum tem* H Pal; *δούλιον ἡμαρ* Cobet. Vid. Cor dignitatisque] Pal Wes.; *dignitati* MH.
rettulit] MH; *attulit* H Pal.
4. conieci] *confecci* libri.
5. et quidem] M; *equidem* H Pal

EP. DCCCXXVI. (FAM. X. 6).

1. tuas] om. M.
litterae sunt] M; *sunt litterae* H I rectius ut nunc putamus.
aut positis armis] *aut possit eis armis haud possint* (possunt Pal) *armis* H P *positis* Mendelssohn.
2. es . . . amplissimos] om. H.
3. consulares] Kleyn Btr.; *cons* libri.
rem p. consularis] libri; *rem p. con lari alii*, Mendelssohn, C. F. W. Müll. Vid. Comm.
tum] *tu* M.
ea ratione] *in ea ratione* libri; *in ratione* Kleyn quem Boot (Obs. Crit. sequitur, coll. Fam. v. 20, 4 (302); Ve iii. 110; Leg. Agr. ii. 67.

EP. DCCCXXVII. (FAM. X. 27).

1. summa] *summa <mea>* Or. Wes seiungis] Pal; *se lungis* M; *se ium* corr. ex *se aungis* H; *seiunges* Ern. W restitutura est] M; *restitura est* P; *restituta est* H.
sanos] *<esse>* *sanos* Or. Wes.
2. facies] M; *faceres* H Pal.
interpones] *interponeres* libri.

EP. DCCCXXVIII. (FAM. XII. 28).

1. ne nimis fortis ne nimis te] *ne min fortis ne minus te* libri.
2. appellaretur] H Pal; *appellaret* I XX] [XX] Mendelssohn, C. F. W Müller.
mutuumve] Or.; *mutuumque* libri.
3. afuisset] M; *fuisset* H Pal.

EP. DCCCXXIX. (FAM. XII. 26).

1. Saturninum] M; *Saturnium* H Pal.
Rubellium] *Rubellinum* libri.
 liberalitate se] *liberalitate* M; *liberalitate esse* H Pal.
2. usus es] H Pal; *usus est* M.
 a me] om. H Pal.
 quod . . . rogo] om. H Pal.

EP. DCCCXXX. (FAM. XII. 27).

splendorem] H Pal; *splendore* M.
 equiti Romano] *equitis Romani* libri.

EP. DCCCXXXI. (FAM. XII. 29).

Alterum exemplum huius epistolae invenitur in MH post xiii. 77 (μh).

1. consule relegatus] M; *consulare legatus* H Pal.
 delector] *delectetur* H.
 Non puto te iam] libri; *nonto iam te* μ; *non dubito iam te* h.
 commendem] μh Lehmann p. 92;
commendarim M Pal; *commendaverim* H.
2. hominibus] *omnibus* H Pal.
 quanquam] *et quanquam* H.
 fieret] Pal μh; *feret* MH.
 omnia] Ab hoc verbo incipit Erf.
 tum] *tam* H.
 me censes] MH Pal μ; *metenses* Erf.;
me tenses h.
 fui] *tum fui* Erf. μh.
 re recenti] om. *re* H Erf.

EP. DCCCXXXII. (FAM. X. 7).

1. exhortatione] H; *ethortatione* M¹;
et exhortatione Pal.

EP. DCCCXXXIII. (FAM. X. 8).

2. mihi ipse] *Rutilius*; *in spe* libri;
ipse Mendelssohn, Landgraf.
 salutis] H Pal; *satis* M.
3. eliciendae] *alliciendae* Wes.
 exercitibusque] om. *-que* H Pal.
 praefuerunt] *praesunt* Man. Wes. Rhodius; sed vide Comm.
- partiremur] *patiremur* M.
4. invitis] *inictis* libri.
- denuntiatio] M; *enuntiatio* H Pal.
6. liberalitate] *libertate* H Pal.

ut vel provinciam] H Pal, C. F. W. Müller; om. *ut* M; vide Corrigenda.
 7. rebus] om. H.
 accedam] H Pal; *accedam ad* M.

EP. DCCCXXXIV. (FAM. X. 10).

1. disceptatur] Wes.; *disceptat* libri.
 Vid. Comm.
 modo non] om. H.
 quidem] om. H.
 et datur] del. Kleyn.
2. adiuva] H; *adlua* M Pal, cf. 845, 2.

EP. DCCCXXXV. (FAM. XII. 6).

1. Titio] *tidio* libri.
 commendabit] *commendavit* M.
2. si] H Pal; *sin* M.
 est] *erit* Ern.

EP. DCCCXXXVI. (BRUT. II. 1).

De his litteris, quae a codice Cratandri iam amisso veniunt, vide quae in Comm. et in initio libri disputavimus.

1. publicam] add. Lamb.; om. Crat.
 ut agerentur] om. Streng, iniuria.
 2. in eo] Lamb. Wes.; *eo* Crat. Btr.
 3. Ex me autem] *extremum* Madvig.
 in aciem] Crat.; *in acie* Lamb. Wes.
- Btr. Vide Comm.
 Maioris autem partis animi] Madvig, Ruete, Streng; *maiores autem partes animi* vulg.

EP. DCCCXXXVII. (BRUT. II. 3 = 3 et 5).

De ordine epistolarum Brut. ii. qui in codice invenitur vide Comm. ad 839, 3.

1. erit post recuperari] Crat.; *erit si potest non recuperari* alii.
5. ab ipso senatu] nos addidimus; vid. Comm.
 altera . . . doleo] *altera quo magis* . . . *reliquorum, hoc magis doleo* Streng.

EP. DCCCXXXVIII. (FAM. X. 12).

1. complectar] *amplectar* II.
 adfert] M¹ Pal; *adferat* M² H.
 gratiores] *graviores* libri.
 expectata] *spectata* libri.
 quoad] *quod* M; *quo* H Pal.
2. de domo] om. *de* H Pal.

at ego ei] M; at ego et H Pal; *lego ei* Boot (Obs. Crit. 21), Mendelssohn, fort. recte; sed *dedi* subaudiri posset, vid. Comm.

nihildum] *nihil* H Pal.

sibi a te] Pal; *tibi a se* MH.

4. gravior] M; *gratior* H Pal.

quam tum] Pal; *quantum* MH.

5. fucata] H Pal; *fugatia* (ia in ras.)

M: *fugacia* alii, C. F. W. Müller, vide

Comm.

existima. Verum] *existimaverim* M.

es et tenes] H Pal; *es, tens* M. Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCXXXIX. (BRUT. II. 2.)

2. expediendo] *expedienda* Crat.

3. sed quo] Vide Comm.

EP. DCCCXL. (BRUT. II. 4 = 4 et 6.)

1. III.] Wes.; VI. Crat.

3. erit] Vict.; *esset Id. April.* Crat.; sed vide Comm.

4. quod ne] om. *quod* Crat.

5. et matrem] add. Wes.

quomodo etiam nunc] *quoniam etiam* nunc Or. Btr. Streng.

6. debeo] *debet* Ern.

EP. DCCCXLI. (FAM. X. 30.)

1. XVIII.] XVII. libri. Vide Comm. millia passus] libri, recte, cf. 872, 1; *millia passuum* alii.

potuissimus] H Pal; *posuissimus* M; *potis essemus* Hellmuth, Mendelssohn; *possemus* vulg. C. F. W. Müller.

2. equitatum et] om. H Pal.

3. passus D] H Pal; om. D M. cornum] M; *cornu* H Pal, qua forma

et ante et post utitur Galba; vide Comm. me insequi] H Pal; *anime insequi* M.

4. venit] *venisset* Wes.

amisit] H Pal; *amici sit* M: cf. 851, 6.

fugavit eodemque] *fugavit eodem die eodemque* Wes.; *fugavit eodem* Btr.; aut sic aut *delevit*, *fugavit eodem loco* scripsisse Galbam arbitratur C. F. W. Müller.

5. redit] *rediit* alii.

Nec id tamen sine] M; *nec id tamen* ne Pal²; *nec tamen ipsi ne* H Pal¹.

praetoriarum] *praetorianarum* MH; *praetorianorum* Pal.

Res] H Pal; *re* M.

XVII.] XII. libri. Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCXLII. (BRUT. II. 5 = 7.)

1. sint] *sunt* Crat.

poterat] *poterant* Crat.

2. fuerit] *fuit* Crat.

3. Celer Pilius] Ruete, *egregis*; c

Pilius vulg. Vide Comm.

4. duceret] *diceret* Crat.

tamen] add. nos.

5. agitur] *agatur* Crat.

XVIII.] Gurlitt; XIII. Crat.; XVI. O. Schmidt. Vide Comm.

EP. DCCCXLIII. (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 3—)

De huius et sequentium epistolarum Brutum turbato ordine vide Comm.

4. pertinuit] *pertinuit* M.

ut nunc iudico] om. *ut et supra iam* habet 'al. *video*' M; *ut nunc video* (= Harl. 2491).

5. otio] M; *animo* Man.; *odio* Lam *negotio* Ruete; sed *otio* bene a Gurl defenditur. Vide Comm.

6. provideritis] m (= Med. 49, Ern.; *providetis* Mh: cf. O. E. Schn in Comm. laudatum.

xv.] Gurlitt; XII. M; XIII. h; XIV.

EP. DCCCXLIV. (BRUT. I. 3, §§ 1—3)

1. esse] add. nos.

virtutis] M²; *virtutis est* Büche cf. Wes. Em. p. 18, fort. recte; *virt* et M¹.

tenere] *cernere* M¹.

2. a qua] Crat. marg., Btr.; *ea* Mh; *ab ea* cum Lamb.

deductus] Forte *deductus* <et postea ductus>.

3. facias] *faciamus* M¹.

hostes digniores] *hostis dignioris* M

EP. DCCCXLV. (FAM. X. 9.)

1. de] om. M.

2. adjuvante] *adiuvante* libri: cf. 8;

suspicio] *suspicio* H Pal.

3. equites mille] *equitum III. mil* Wes. propter 848, 2, ut adnotat Mende sohn.

via] *uta* M.

is] Kl.; in MH; om. Pal.

opposuerit] Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCXLI. (BRUT. I. 3, § 4).

bonos] I vulg.; *bonos consules* CMh.
idque] Wes.; *itaque cum id super-*
scripto M; *Itaque id h.*
v.] x. MCh, sed vide Comm.

EP. DCCCXLVII. (FAM. XI. 9).

1. elabatur] H manu prima ut nobis
quidem videtur: *elaboratur* M; *elabora-*
retur Pal.
persuasissimum] Pal; p. et M; p. sit
H.
id] om. Ern.
iii.] libri, O. E. Schmidt; vi. vel
vii. Schelle.

EP. DCCCXLVIII. (FAM. X. 11).

1. cognoscis] *cognosces* H.
2. copias] M; *copias omnes* H Pal.
tribus milibus] *tria millia* M.
in his partibus] libri; *in has partes*
Wes. Vid. Comm.
spes] om. H.
constiti] *constituti* M.
hoc] M; *huc* H Pal: cf. Neue ii³.
613.
confert] vid. Comm.
secum] M; *huc* Pal; om. H.
3. Furnio] *furtio* M.
vobis] om. H.

EP. DCCCXLIX. (FAM. XI. 13 a).

Parmenses miseros] Haec verba tantum
in Indice M servata sunt.

EP. DCCCL. (BRUT. I. 11).

1. in] add. Wes.
cum] add. Wes.
[XX.] = vices (centena millia) Meyer;
cf. 854, 6; xx. libri.
2. cupimus] Vict.; *cupimus* M Crat.
marg.; *cepimus* M²; *caepimus* hRI.
sed] add. nos.
eundum domum] nos; *eundum* Pal³,
R; *id* M; *statuit id sibi corrupta esse et*
negavit id fieri posse supplenda putat O. E.
Schmidt.
esse debere] cod. Dresdensis; *esse debet*
M¹; *esse* (om. *debero*) CM²h: cf. O. E.
Schmidt, Jahrb. 1889, p. 183.
detereri] *detineri* Cod. Guelferby-
tanus.

EP. DCCCLI. (FAM. XII. 25, §§ 6, 7).

6. Lucecium] *luccium* M; *luctium* H;
lutium Pal.
amisimus] *amici sinus* M, cf. 841, 4;
amicissimos H Pal.

EP. DCCCLII. (BRUT. I. 5).

1. consistat] M²h; *constat* M¹.
2. ante] *in te* Mh.
3. cooptari] *coaptari* Mh.
indicatum] O. E. Schmidt, bene, vid.
Comm.; *indicat libri; iudicat C.*
non petentis] *<etiam> non petentis* M²
(sc. Coluccio).
de Catone] *<et> de Catone* I Kl.

EP. DCCCLIII. (FAM. X. 14).

1. Atqui] Man. Wes.; *atque* libri.
2. exspectabam] *spectabam* libri.
et cum re p. esse] Orelli; *et rei p. esse*
M Pal¹; *et re p. esse* H; *et rei p. satis*
esse Pal²; *esse* (om. *et cum re p.*) Graevius,
Mendelssohn; *tecum e re p. esse* Bücheler,
Btr. Götibauer, C. F. W. Müller.

EP. DCCCLIV. (FAM. XI. 10).

1. posse] *nosces* Madvig.
sint] *sunt* H Wes.
si tamen . . . tuum] Vict.; *sit an hoc*
tempore is videantur dici causa malle me-
tuum M; *sit an hoc tempore is dici videatur*
causa malle me tuum H; *sit an hoc temporis*
videatur dici causa malle me tuum Pal;
Exploratum habe etsi forsitan hoc tibi
temporis videatur dici causa malle me tuum
Kl. (ed. 2); *Exploratum habes vita (ne*
haec temporis videantur dici causa) malle
me tuum Madvig, A. C. iii. 164, quod
Mendelssohnio probatur.
a certo] *aperto* Or.
2. honoris] H; om. M Pal.
iniciat vacuitas] M; *initiatu* (-a m. 2)
Pal; *initiat civitas* H; *iniciat vacua*
civitas Madv.; *iniciat r. p. vacuitas* Or.
3. Hoc] libri; *huc* alii: cf. 848, 2.
4. rursus] H Pal; *rursus* M, fort. recte,
cf. Neue ii³. 749.
5. HS. mihi fuit pecuniae] om. H Pal¹;
ins. Pal² in marg.
[CCCC] Mendelssohn; *cccc. libri:*
cf. 850, 1.

numerum nunc legionum] libri; *numero nunc legiones* Or.; *nimirum nunc legiones* Boot, bene; fort. *legiones legendum et numerum ut glossema eiciendum.*
thensauros] M; *thesauros* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLV. (FAM. XI. 11).

1. in itinere est] om. *est* H Pal.
2. consolabere] libri; <is> *consolabere* Man. Btr., cf. Comm.; *consolabor me* Koch.
ex finibus] Wes., cf. 876 fin.; om. *ex* libri.

EP. DCCCLVI. (FAM. XII. 12).

1. voluerint] libri; *voluerunt* Lamb. Btr. Wes.
2. pollulum morae] *pollulum more* M; *pollutum morem* H Pal.
3. quos] M Pal²; *quod* H Pal¹.
3. misere] M; *miser* H Pal.
4. adsidue] M; *assidue* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLVII. (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 1-3).

1. rebus] *litteris* h.
est] *esset* M¹.
2. equidem] *quidem* M.
concedere possit res publica] M¹h; *conducere possit rei p.* M².
- potentibus] *petentibus* h.
3. quasi non liceat] *quasi non liqueat* Madvig.

EP. DCCCLVIII. (FAM. X. 13).

1. mihi] add. Index M; om. libri.
esset] H Pal; *est* M.
2. nobis] om. H Pal.
- existimavi] Pal; *existimari* M; *existimari* H.
Aiacem] *alancem* M.

EP. DCCCLIX. (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 1-4).

1. potui eram] M; *potueram* H Pal.
Aquilam perisse nesciebam] H Pal et alii codd.; om. M.
2. fecit] H Pal Dresd 3; om. M.
3. et se] *et se* <ei> Btr. coll. 890, 4; cf. Lehmann, p. 18.
et frequenter] *ei frequenter* Koch, Wes.
C. F. W. Müller.
Ventidianis] *venditianis* M.

EP. DCCCLX. (FAM. X. 15).

1. sedulitas] *sed utilitas* H Pal.
2. decem] *sescenti* Schelle; <decursi decem Rhodius. Vid. Comm.
transierant] Wes.; *transierunt* libri
3. meo] libri quos optime defen Mendelssohn coll. Fam. viii. 8, 4 (22 vid. Comm.; *meo* <Antonium> Or.; <perditum latronem> Lehmann.
possem] *posse* H.
- iv.] libri; VII. vel VIII. Nake, *fc* recte.
- iii.] Wes., quem dubitanter sequimur v. libri. Vid. Comm.
4. Italiam] M; *Italiamque* H P <ut> *Italiam* Wes.

EP. DCCCLXI. (FAM. X. 21, §§ 1-6).

2. expectarem] H; *spectarem* M P delibare] *deliberare* libri.
3. nimisque] H Pal; *miisque* M *meisque* M²; *nimis quam* Mendelssohn C. F. W. Müller. Vid. Comm.
- ea quibus credidi] Lamb.; *et quibus* H Pal; *ex quibus c.* M.
4. ut] M; *qui* H Pal.
conclamarint] *conclamarunt* libri; *conclamarant* Wes.
- singularibus] M Pal (*sed superscriptum*); om. H; *singularibus* <viri Lamb. De voc. *viris* omisso vide Comm.
5. Hoc] MH, cf. § 6 et 848, 2; *l* Pal.
defuturam] H Pal Wes.; *defuturi* M.
6. exercitum] M; *ut exercitum* H P fort. recte.
habeam] M¹; *habebam* M².
hoc] MH Pal¹; *huc* Pal²; cf. § 5 infra.

EP. DCCCLXII. (FAM. X. 21, 7).

7. excuse] *excuso* M¹; *excuses* M *excusa* H Pal; *excuso* Mendelssohn. Vi Comm.
excuse] *litteris* *excuso si mitti* Rhodius.
- istoc] M; *istuc* H Pal: cf. 861, 5.

EP. DCCCLXIII. (FAM. XI. 12).

1. Vibii] *vibulinus* H Pal.
et ex Graecii oratione] *et ex grec oratione* Pal; *ut ex grecasi oratione* H; *ex graecio ratione* M.

tua illa] *sua illa* libri.
perterritis] *perterris* M; *per terras*
H Pal.

2. maximeque] Pal; *maximique* MH.

EP. DCCCLXIV. (BRUT. I. 16).

1. litterarum] Mh; *literularum* C.
scripta] Mh; *scriptas* alii.
expectetur] *expetetur* Dresd. h., quod
nisi ex mero errore ortum est, forsitan
expetatur sit legendum.

nolit] *noluit* Dresd.; *nolet* Wes.

2. adversus] *apud* Dresd.

me videri] *me* add. nos.

3. ita extulit] *ita* add. Lamb.

4. privatim] MI; *privatum* h, Kl,
iniuria.

recusatum] M; *recusandum* alii.
bono] *<sub> bono* Kayser, vix neces-
sario.

negaret iis] Crat.; *negotii* M¹; *negot*
iis M².

5. aestimet] *extimet* Mh; *existimet* I
Dresd. Guelf.

per se] add. nos. Vid. Comm.

Ceterum . . . adhibetur] De hoc loco
in Comm. disputavimus.

eo] add. Cobet.

ab aliis] RI; om. M, fort. recte eodem-
que sensu.

id non] *id* add. nos.

si prius] M; *nisi prius* Crat.

6. odero] M, in marg. 'al. *duxero*';
adaro h.

recidisse] *cecidisse* Mh.

si] add. Btr. Meyer; *cum* alii.

7. illi largiris] om. *illi* M¹.

illis] Lehmann; *ullis* libri.

8. revocari] C; *provocari* M.

istuc] *istoc* M quod legere debuimus:
cf. 862, 7.

is sum] om. M¹.

10. incognitae] *incogitate* M¹.

veniunt] *veniunt* M.

maxima] CM; *magna* alii.

11. animi] add. Vict., quod num omitti
possit dubitamus.

nihil . . . exstat] om. Kayser.

quia] *quin* Or.

decet] *decet quam te* I.

EP. DCCCLXV. (BRUT. I. 17).

2. an Antonium] om. *an* Madv. Wes.
triumphum] Pal 4, codd. Lamb.;
triumphus MRI.

decernit] Lamb.; *decernitur* Crat. Pal
4 R; om. MI. Quae de toto loco iudicat
Madvigius in Comm. exposuimus.

hortatur ne eius] Orelli (ed. 1) Wes.;
hortationis M¹; *hortationibus* M²h; *hor-*
tatur R; *ornatur* I; *hortatur cum* Pal 4.
hoc] codd. aliquot teste Wes. Crat.;
om. MRI.

aut] R; *ut* MI; *an* Crat. Lamb.

3. ex Flavio] libri; *in Flavio* Lamb.
Wes.

4. haec mihi videntur] *haec <levia>*
videntur Madv.; *haec nimirum videntur*
Stangl.

5. referat] M; *deferat* Or. Fort. *<ad*
Ciceronem> *referat*.

nostra] *nostra <refert>* Wes. Sed
vid. Comm.

6. ut scribis] om. M¹.

Antonius] sine dubio corruptum. Vid.
Comm.

existimavi] *estimavi* M.

diligi se] Lamb.; om. *se* MRI.

7. Atticae] M marg.; *tacite* M.

EP. DCCCLXVI. (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 3-6).

3. Nunc agendum] *id agendum* Cod.
Oxon.; *nunc cavendum* Becher, Cobet.

neu . . . peius] De hoc loco fusius
disputavimus in Comm.

4. tuas virtutes] *ut glossema eiciunt*
Man. Btr. Becher.

a] add. Lamb.

desiderant] libri; *desiderat* Man. Btr.
Becher.

quam inde . . . descensus] Cod.
Ursini; *quam inde consul factus sit*

descensus Becher; *quam inde si consul*
factus sit descensus Ruete. Pro *descen-*
surum Madv. legit *escensurum*, Man.
ascensurum. Vid. Comm.

5. facilitatem] M; *felicitatem* Crat.
Prorsus alienae] om. *alienas* Madv.
Kayser, Becher.

possis] *posses* Wes., vix necessario.

EP. DCCCLXVII. (BRUT. I. 6).

1. Glycona] M; *Clitona* R; *Clytona*
h; *Helicon* I.

3. C. Treboni] *g. tribuno* M¹.

4. XIII.] M¹h; XVII. M². Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCLXVIII. (BRUT. I. 7).

1. Is] add. Wes.

sumus] *simus* M.

EP. DCCCLXIX. (FAM. X. 34, §§ 1, 2).

1. ab confluenta Rhodani] *ab confluenta rhodano* Pal; *rhodano ab confluenta* H; *ab confluenta ab rhodano* M; quod C. F. W. Müller defendit coll. Liv. xxxvii. 44, 4, a *Magnesia ab Sipylō* sed *Magnesia ab Sipylō* ut unum tantum nomen habetur quo ab aliis Magnesiis distinguatur; *ab confluenta* <Arari et> Rhodano Hübner; *ab confluenta* <Durentiae ac> Rhodani Wes.

Voconii] Man.; *vocontium* M Pal; *vocantium* H.

Antonianos] edd.; *Antonios* libri, fort. recte, sed expectes *eis*.

ultra me] M; *ultra a me* H Pal.

inermorum] *inermiorum* H.

habet] M; *habebat* H Pal.

millia quinque] Madvig, optime; *equitum M itaque* H Pal; *equitum itaque* M.

2. humanitatis] *humilitatis* (mani m. 2) H.

deerimus] M Pal; *decedimus* in rasura H.

egerimus] *gerimus* MH.

EP. DCCCLXX. (FAM. X. 18).

2. prope] om. H.

eius] H; *es* M.

et cautius] *etsi cautius* Lamb.

exercitu . . . sentiente] H et codd. alii; om. M.

3. habebat . . . absit] libri, quos Mendelssohn optime defendit; *habebat . . . abesset* vel *habeat . . . absit* alii. Vid. Comm.

vulneris] *ulceris* Puteanus.

nisi] libri; *si* Man. Madvig.

meae quae me] H; *meaeque* M.

4. xii.] codd. nonnulli; x. u M; xv. H.

duobus] om. H.

EP. DCCCLXXI. (FAM. XI. 18).

1. putares] *suspicarer putares* M; *timendum suspicandumque putares* edd. nonnulli.

3. xiv.] libri; xvii. O. E. Schmidt.

EP. DCCCLXXII. (FAM. X. 17).

1. Id. Maias] *Idus Maias* MH; *ad Idus Maias* Pal.

passus] libri: cf. 841, 1, et Neue ii³. 306.

2. sciat] H Pal; *sciam* M.

3. tamen] *tandem* Man. Wes.

fide] M Pal³; *fidei* H fort. recte.

In ea re] om. M.

Segaviano] M; *eganiano* H Pal. Comm.

ei sum] om. *sum* H.

singulari] *singula* MH.

EP. DCCCLXXIII. (BRUT. I. 1).

1. dicam] om. Mh.

a me] *et a me* Mh.

Clodii] hRI; *at Clodii* M.

eius] *eius* <rei> Cobet, Kayser.

2. si] uncis inclusit Cobet.

EP. DCCCLXXIV. (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 1-3)

1. loco] add. Wes. Vid. Comm.

2. Tuum] *et tuum* M.

3. legione quarta] *legione quadam* F. Hermann. Fort. *legionibus* vel *legi capta*. Vid. Comm.

fraude C. Antonii] C. F. Hermann de *Catonii* libri; *in legione de* <e fraude> C. Antonii Madvig.

clementia] vel simile vocabulum a Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXV. (FAM. XI. 19).

2. Vicetini] MH; *vicentini* Pal.

rem p.] *re p.* libri, quos defendit F. W. Müller, coll. Fam. vi. 22, 3 (4) *studio et officio in meis rebus*.

inertissimum] MH²; *incertissimum* Wes.

i: indicium
Vercellis] *Vercellis* H, quod Opum requirit.

EP. DCCCLXXVI. (FAM. X. 34, §§ 3, 4)

3. officii mutuo] *officii mutui* Mad officiaque mutua Lamb.

animo] <in> *animo* Wes.

4. diligentissime] *studium diligentis* Lamb.; *diligentiam et egisse me* Opitz. sunt] *sint* Wes. bene.

EP. DCCCLXXVII. (FAM. XI. 20).

1. sibi simillimus] H Pal; *eius similius* M; *sui simillimus* C. F. W. Müller Vid. Comm.

posset] Wes. : *possit* libri.

2. nondum] M ; om. H Pal ; *non* alii.
Quod diximus in Comm. *nondum* in arehe-
typo pro certo fuisse, id nunc quidem
nullo modo tam praecise affirmamus. Res
dubia est.

3. Sullanis] edd. vett. Btr. Wes. ;
Silani M Pal ; *scillani* H ; *ex agris Stellati*
et Campano Schütz.

4. non] om. libri.

armo] om. H.

Eporedia] M ; *eporegia* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLXXVIII. (FAM. XI. 23).

1. nobis] *de nobis* libri.

2. quot] H Pal ; *quod* M (= *quot*) : cf.
Mendelssohn, qui confert Fam. viii. 12,
2 (279), *aliquod* = *aliquot*.

poterunt] Btr. Wes. ; *poterint* libri.

Eporedia] M ; *eporagia* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLXXIX. (FAM. X. 19).

1. erant] *fuerunt* Ern. Wes.

dedere] *dederunt* Or. Kleyn. Vid.
Comm.

EP. DCCCLXXX. (FAM. X. 25).

1. navitatem] H Pal ; *natirritatem* M.
scientiaque] *sententiaque* Man. Wes.

2. satisfactorum rei p.] M ; *satisfac-*
tum officio rei p. satisfactum H Pal.

quid] M ; om. H Pal.

non est] om. H Pal.

consule] Pal ; *cos* M ; *eos* H.

3. necesse] om. H Pal.

dignitate malim] Pal ; *dignitatem ma-*
lim dignitatem aliam M.

EP. DCCCLXXXI. (FAM. X. 16).

1. ad unum] *<omnes>* *ad unum* Wes. ;
sed, cf. Lehmann, p. 82.

2. huc] H ; *huc* M Pal.

subitis] *subditis* libri.

aliquod] libri ; *aliquid* C. F. W.
Müller.

putarimus] M ; *putaremus* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLXXXII. (FAM. XII. 15, §§ 1-6).

1. L.] L. <Q> Lamb.

E. V.] E. E. Q. V. Pal.

vastata . . . celeriusque] *vastataque*
. . . *celerius* Wes.

omnibus] om. H Pal.

divenditis] *divexatis* Lamb.

quidque] Wes. Btr. ; *quicquid* libri,
Mendels. C. F. W. Müller, coll. Att. xi.
10, 2 (425) ; xii. 33, 1 (566) ; xiv. 5 (707) ;
xv. 6, 4 (738).

2. sensibus] *senibus* MH ; *a senibus*
Pal.

deverti] Wes. ; *reverti* libri.

quo] M ; *quod* H Pal.

deminutionemque . . . Romani] *demi-*
nutionemque non solum iuris nostri sed
etiam maiestatis imperiique populi Romani
Ern. Om. -*que post populi* Or. Fort.
excidit : (= *senatus*), vel *vestri post im-*
perii.

4. Haec sive timore . . . noluerunt]
Locus nondum sanatus : de quo fusius in
Comm. disputavimus. Wesenbergii *sen-*
tentiam plerumque amplectimur.

5. demorati] M ; *demoratos* H² Pal ;
demoratus H¹.

sumus] M ; *fuimus* H Pal.

studium et diligentiam] H Pal ; *stu-*
dium diligentiam M, fort. recte.

omnibusque rationibus] *omnibusque*
<cum> *rationibus* alii. Vid. Comm.

praestiterunt . . . inierunt] *praesti-*
terint . . . inierint Wes., vix necessario.
Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCLXXXIII. (FAM. XII. 14).

3. desperaverint] *spreverint* Kleyn,
Boot ; *despezerint* C. F. W. Müller, in-
geniose.

quam revera . . . scripsi] H Pal et
codd. alii ; om. M.

moverunt] marg. M manu recentiori ;
add. in textu Wes.

in nostra salute] *in nostram salutem*
edd. vett. Wes. : cf. 895, 4.

pati] *putati* M¹ ; *putavi* H Pal ; *pari*
Bengel.

4. ceteris rebus] *ceteris <in>* *rebus*
alii : sed cf. Köhlerum, p. 26, qui confert
Fam. xiii. 66, 2 (506).

obtineant] libri ; *obtineat* Cobet ; *ob-*
tinerent Kayser,

hoc] cf. ad 848, 2.

Laodiceam] *laudiceam* H Pal.

Dolabellam] *minime delendum*, vid.
Köhlerum in Comm.

5. acturos] M ; *peracturos* H Pal.

coram] *horam* libri.

nive] M ; *neve* H Pal : cf. Neue ii².
969.

nisi] nisi <si> Ern. Köhler; sed vid. Comm.

7. At tamen] *adlāmen* M; *attāmen* H Pal; *Ac tamen* Wes.

8. Pergae] M; *pergas* H Pal; *Perga* Or. Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXXIV. (FAM. X. 20).

1. istim] M; *istis* H.

2. certius] M; *rectius* H.

iam] om. Btr. Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXXV. (FAM. X. 35).

PR. TR. PL.] Pal; R. P. TR. PL. H; om. M.

1. conservandis] *observandis* libri.

III.] libri; IIII. Ruete.

Iun.] om. libri; add. codd. nonnulli.

EP. DCCCLXXXVI. (FAM. XI. 14).

1. Tantum . . . videantur] Vid. Comm. *σκιμαχίας*] *sciamachalas* M; *sciam me achalas* H Pal.

2. valde] *unde* libri.

3. renatum] *renovatum* Kleyn, Wes.

tam] M Pal; *tamen* H.

Hi] H Pal; om. M.

his] M; *litteris his* H Pal, fort. recte.

non extimesco] libri; *ne extimescam* Crat. Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXXVII. (BRUT. I. 8).

1. commendabo] Crat.; *commendavi* M; *commendo* alii.

2. Is] add. Wes.

octavum] *octavo in (= octavom)* M.

vult] marg. M; *valeat* M^h; *valuit* M²; *voluit* Crat.; *vellet* R. Ern.

EP. DCCCLXXXVIII. (FAM. XI. 16).

2. consule relegatus] *consulare ligatus* MH; *consulare legatus* Pal.

meminit] H Pal; *memini* M; *memine-*

rit edd. vett.

est] *esset* Kleyn, Btr.

3. petere] *praetere* M.

non tenebo] *non ego tenebo* H.

EP. DCCCLXXXIX. (FAM. XI. 17).

1. Magna] M; *magna sunt* H Pal

Is] H Pal; *is* M.

excitari] codd. aliquot; *excitare* lii

excitare codd. duo Alleni nostri.

2. te mihi] H Pal; *me tibi* M.

Lamiam] *iamiam* libri.

EP. DCCCXC. (FAM. X. 33).

1. sed] a multis suspectum: *retin* C. F. W. Müller sensu, ut ita dicam intensivo, coll. Q. Fr. ii. 3, 4 (10 iii. 1, 17 (148)).

neque] *nequeo* libri.

et duces] Pal; *ut duces* MH.

2. palparer] Vict.; *palmarer* M; *pa-*

rerum H Pal.

3. impositis] H Pal; *imposui(t)* M

eam] *eum* Btr. Vid. Comm.

eam diem] om. H.

Et hercules] M; *et ego me herc* H Pal, fort. recte.

nihil non] M; *nihil* H Pal.

gessisse] M; *cessisse* H Pal.

4. quartam] De legionibus quae Mutinensi bello pugnarunt vide Adde

ad Comm.

Pontium . . . cecidisse] M; *pont-*

quidam dicunt etiam Octavianum cecid

Pal; *pontium quidam dicunt Octavian*

quoque cecidisse H.

reliquisse] om. H.

equitum v.] Man.; om. v. libri.

pupilli] *Publii* edd. vett. Wes. M

delsse. coll. Fam. xiii. 14, 1 (455); *po-*

vel *popelli* O. E. Schmidt; *Popilli* Ga-

hausen (Philol. li. p. 518).

se] *se <ei>* Btr.

septima octava nona] Vid. Adde

ad Comm.

5. xvii.] xviii. H.

supersint] *supersunt* H.

EP. DCCCXI. (FAM. XII. 15, § 7).

7. vi introire] M; *ut introiret* H I

dc.] H Pal; c. M.

Laodiceam] *laodicheam* M; *laudia*

H.

Amanum] *manum* MH Pal²; m

Pal¹.

Laodicea afuisse] M; *laodicea (-ia*

fuisse H Pal; <a> *Laodicea afuisse* C;

Wes.

Pergae] *Perga* Or. Wes.

EP. DCCCXCII. (FAM. XI. 26).

Maximo] <In> maximo Btr. Wes.
Mendelss.
ex Sardinia] Vid. Comm.
dant an decernant] *dent an <non> decernant* edd. vett.; *denegent an decernant* Mendelss. C. F. W. Müller.; *dent an demant* Kl. (ed. 2); *demant an decernant* C. F. Hermann.
fiunt] M; *stant* H Pal, C. F. W. Müller.

EP. DCCCXCIII. (FAM. XI. 21).

1. magnum] *magni* H Pal.
2. sententiam ferri] M; *sententiam fieri* Pal; *scientiam fieri* H; *s. c. fieri* Or.
recentem [novam] Ursinus et Kleyn;
recentem novam libri; *re entem <ac> novam* Boot.
3. id pro me] *id pro me <facere>* Crat. Wes.; *<facere> id pro me* Kl. Lehmann.
4. metuam] vulg. Wes.; *metum* M; *metuo* H Pal.
5. ab utrisque vestrum] libri, locutione sane inusitata; *ab utroque vestrum* Lamb. Wes. C. F. W. Müller, qui putat *utrisque* ex *agris assignandis* ortum esse.
vobis] edd. vett. Btr. Wes.; *nobis* libri; at non senatui sed D. Bruto et Octaviano res integra servanda erat.
reconditum] *<magis> reconditum* Wes.

EP. DCCCXCIV. (FAM. XI. 24).

1. esse] om. H.
sin] *si in* libri.
2. nihil tibi] Wes.; *nihil* libri.
tui] Dreed 3, Wes.; om. libri.

EP. DCCCXCV. (FAM. X. 23).

1. si uno] libri; *nisi uno* C. F. W. Müller, sed vid. Comm.
2. salutariter] H Pal; *salutari* M.
fideliter mihi pateret iter] M Pal²;
fideliter mihi pater et frater Pal²; *mihi fideliter pateret frater* H.
3. ferventibus] *furentibus* codd. dett.
ut spatium ad colligendum se] (cum nota pro et supra *spatium*) H; *ut spatium et colligendum se* M Pal; *et spatium colligendi se* Wes.
4. in rem p.] *in re p.* libri, quos defendit C. F. W. Müller. Vid. Comm.
5. Magno] *emagno* M¹; *Ego magno* Lamb.

Lepidi missos] *lepidi dimissos* libri.
vetueram] *vetuerat* M.
ad eum] Man. Wes. C. F. W. Müller;
ad me libri.
exceperam] *exegeram* Mendelssohn.
numeroque hostis habueram] H Pal et codd. alii; om. M.
6. hoc] *huc* Or.; sed cf. 848, 2.
quas habemus] om. H.
7. iam] *etiam* Starker.
Cularone] *cuiarone* libri.

EP. DCCCXCVI. (FAM. X. 32).

1. Calpem] libri; *Calpen* alii.
Bogudis] H Pal; *bogulis* M.
2. fecerat] om. H.
3. praetextam] *praetextatam* Or.
posuit] libri; *composuit* nescio quis ap. Boot (Obs. Crit. 22); *praetextam* . . .
<agi> *poposcit* Boot.
auctorare] Madv. (A. C. ii. 233);
auctorari R Wes.; *auctore* libri.
coniecti] *conlecti* M; *collecti* H Pal.
c. R. NATVS SVM] om. Kleyn Btr.
circulatorem] *circum latorem* libri.
4. praestat] libri; *restat* C. F. W. Müller.
quingenos] M; *quingentos* H Pal;
quingenos <se> Lamb.
finem] *ex fide* M¹; *fidem* H.
si uno loco habuissem] om. H Pal.
utpote] H Pal; *utputo* M¹; *utputa* M².
5. imperassetis facturum] M; *impe-*
trassetis facturum H; *imperassetis futurum* Pal; *imperassetis facturum <me>* Or.,
haud necessario.
excessi] *discessi* H.
decedentes] *discedentes* Or.

EP. DCCCXCVII. (BRUT. I. 10).

3. in magistratu] *in add. nos.*
4. quatefecit] *quo te feci* M¹.
fide] Bücheler; *idem* libri. Vide Comm.
est in te] M²; *extincte* M¹.
quam virtute atque] om. M.
ad te futurus] M²; *attestaturus* M¹.
5. principiis] *praesidiis* R, alii.
debebat] *debeat* M¹ h.

EP. DCCCXCVIII. (FAM. XII. 8).

1. meo] *M(arco)* Gronov., fort. recte.
2. perfici atque] *perficiat* quas H Pal,
ante correctionem.

conamur] libri; *cogamur* Man. Wes.
 3. a te] Crat.; *ad* M; om. H Pal.
 4. orbus est] Lamb. Wes.; om. *es*
 libri.
 5. tu sis] H Pal; *iussis* M; *eius sis*
 vulg.
 compromisso] M; *cum promisso* H Pal.
 7. Venuleio] *venulegio* H.
 lictores] om. H.
 honore] *honore <digni>* Man. Wes.;
honore <enim cum digni sint> Lehmann.

EP. DCCCC. (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 4, 5).

4. Planci . . . neque] om. H.
 Quos] *quod* H Pal.
 adroganter] *abroganter* M; *arroganter*
<appropinquantes> Lehmann; 'mihi sub-
 esse videtur *audacter, constanter, acriter*
 aut sim., *abroganter* autem ex proximo
 vocabulo 'All(*obrog*)es' natum esse,' C. F.
 W. Müller.
 5. comparabant] *comparabunt* M; *com-*
pararunt Pal; *comparatur* H.

EP. DCCCCI. (FAM. XII. 13).

1. habebimus] *habemus* H Pal.
 nec convenientia] libri; *nec incon-*
venientia codd. dett.
 minimum] libri; *minimam* Gronov.
 Boot. Vid. Comm.

3. magna contumacia] *<in>* magna
contumacia Wes.; fort. *magna <cum>*
contumacia si opus esset additamento.
 L. Figulus] edd. coll. A--
Lucilius lib-

2

2. 1
 Graev
 Mende
 defend

EP. DCCCXVIII. (BRUT. I. 13).

1. in me] om. M.
liberis] M Crat.; *liberos* alii.

EP. DCCCXIX. (BRUT. I. 12).

1. ab Antonio] libri; *ab Antonii* Lamb.
3. et te] *delendum*; *esse* Man.

EP. DCCCXX. (FAM. XII. 10).

1. spe] H Pal; *spes* M.
2. opis] H Pal; *opus* M.
laturus is] *laturus sis* M Pal; *laturus* sit H.

EP. DCCCXXI. (FAM. X. 29).

- te] Pal; *et* MH.
benevolentia] *benivolentia* H Pal; *ben* (sic) M.
ieci] H Pal; *leci* M.
magnoque] *magno animoque* M.
nulla re] *<in> nulla re* Btr. coll. 816,
2.

EP. DCCCXXII. (FAM. XI. 22).

1. se cum] *mecum* libri.
2. Nutus tuus] *nutius* M; *nuncius* H;
mitius, vel *nuntius* Pal.

EP. DCCCXXIII. (BRUT. I. 14).

1. scripsissem] libri; *scripsisses* Middleton.
Ciceronem] *Ciceronem dedi* R.
Bibulorum] Forte *Biduli*, *<ali>orum* coll. 868.
2. deducas] *adducas* I; *ducas* h.
et animi hominum] Lamb.; *animi hominum et* M,
depulisti] Ern.; *repulisti* libri.

EP. DCCCXXIV. (BRUT. I. 15).

1. is] M²; *se* M¹.
videatur] M²; *sed* M¹; *sit* Btr.
3. forte] *fortasse* libri. Vide Comm.
sapientissimus] M¹; *sapiens unus* M².
4. crexerat] De hoc loco in Comm.
multa disputavimus.

5. liberatis] *liberavastis* M; *liberatis* I.

profitenti] M Crat.; *promittenti* ed. Cratandrina.
sapientes] Wes.; *sapientis* M; *sapi-*
entem Cobet.

6. et] add. Wes.
7. id scire] *respirare* con. Schmidt.
8. homines] add. Cobet.
reperiuntur] M Crat.; *reperimur* alii.
cuius vos] Man.; *vos cuius* (vel *cui-*
vis) M.

atqui] Middleton; *atque* libri.
paullo] *<haud> paullo* add.
reprehendit] *reprehendet* Or.
9. esset salutaris] *posset esse salutaris* alii.

hoc ipsum nimium] *fortasse glossema*.
10. in praesens] M; *in praesenti* Crat.
11. de me] M¹; *de se* M².
audisse] *adnuisse* Schmidt.
12. in auctoritate] Dresd.; om. in M.
13. in te] add. in Btr. Cobet.

EP. DCCCXXV. (BRUT. I. 18).

1. a. d. VIII.] M²; *audivi* M¹.
ac] Btr.; *an* MR; *et* I.
2. labenti] *labanti* Wes.
inclinatae paene rei p.] *inclinante pene* r. p. h.
3. nisi] h I Wes.; *si* libri, quod defendit Becher.
4. in eo] add. I.
indoles] *bona indoles* I, *haud neces-*
sario.
flexibilis] *flexibilis* M¹.
obdurescunt] *obsurdescunt* Man. Lamb.

EP. DCCCXXVI. (FAM. X. 24).

1. meritaque] H Pal; *meraque* M.
pro maximis tuis] M; *proximam istius* H;
pro eximiis tuis Pal.
indulgentia] *industria* Boot; *diligentia* Lamb.
in tua . . . assiduitate] del. edd. nonnulli. De toto loco vide Comm.
2. scio] *scis* Nodell, Wes., *iniuria*.
3. talis] libri; *talis <belli>* Wes.; *fatalis* Koch; *ut ais* Andr.; *consularis* (vel *capitalis*) Lehmann; *alterius* Nettle-
ship.
6. habent] in textum ex proximo irrepsit.
aversissimam] *adversissimam* Crat. Wes.
avocarit . . . transtulerit] *-int . . . -int* Klotz.

bimestris] v. *mestris* (= quinque mē-
tris) Man. Schmidt; vi. *mestris* (= semes-
tris) Lange. Vide Comm.

7. iuvero] *ivero* M; *tuero* Pal; *tuor*
H.

8. v. . . . castris] om. H.

EP. DCCCCXVII. (FAM. XIII. 76).

1. testes estis] H Pal; *testis est* M.
cum] *quam* libri; *quamquam* Or.

EP. DCCCCXVIII. (FAM. XIII. 43).

QUINTIO GALLO] *quintio gallo* M;
Quintio Gallio MH indices; *quintio gallo*
(ex *gallo*) Pal; *quintio sal* H; *Q. Gallio*
Man.

1. ea] H Pal; *mea* M; *nunc ea* Bene-
dictus; *iam ea* Koch; *magna* con. C. F.
W. Müller.

EP. DCCCCXIX. (FAM. XIII. 44).

GALLO] Pal, vide ep. praecedentem;
Gallio MH et indices.

familiarissimi mei] edd. vett.; om.
mei libri; *familiaris mei* Mendelssohn
coll. 918, 1.

EP. DCCCCXX. (FAM. XIII. 45).

vel] *delent* Crat. Wes., recte defendit
Lehmann.

rem meam] *meam rem* Wes., haud
necessario.

mutua] *multa* Wes. coll. M ad 808,
4 fin.

EP. DCCCCXXIII. (FAM. XVI. 13).

Menandri] *Andrici* coll. 924, 1.

EP. DCCCCXXIV. (FAM. XVI. 14).

1. Andricus] *Menandrus* Man. coll.
923.

miseriae] H Erf.; *miserius* M; *mis-*
eris Pal.

Ummium] *Manium* Man.; *Ummidium*
Lallemand.

EP. DCCCCXXV. (FAM. XVI. 15).

1. conservandum] M Pal; *conser-*
dum H Erf.

2. Scripta iam epistola] M;
iam (om. *iam* Pal) *epistolam* H Erf.
et te visus est] om. H Erf. Pal.
cocom] M Pal; *cum* H; om. E

EP. DCCCCXXVI. (FAM. XVI. 10)

2. Pompeius] libri; *Pomponius*
male.

Kal.] *Kal. febr.* Pal.

EP. DCCCCXXVII. (FAM. XVI. 16)

1. meam] *tuam* Wes., sine causa
cum] M Pal; *quod* H Erf.

illa fortuna . . . maluisti] De ac-
mentis ad hunc locum vix necessariis
Comm.

2. fidelitas] et *frugalitas* addit l
binus, et *utilitas* Boot, propter plu-
casum *his commodis*.

sermonibus] et *sermonibus* libri,
conservato <et> *humanitate* vel *hu-*
mane <que> dedit Lehmann.
commodis] om. H Erf.

EP. DCCCCXXIX. (FAM. XIII. 48).

et] om. Lamb. Btr.; *id* C. F.
Müller.

quae ut] *quod ut* Wes. Vide Con

EP. DCCCCXXX. (FAM. XII. 20).

ut es] MH; cf. Lehmann, p. 83;
delicatus Pal; *ut es* cessator Koch; *de-*
con. C. F. W. Müller.
mihi] add. Lamb.

EP. DCCCCXXXI. (FAM. XIII. 52).

coniunctus] <mihi> *coniunctus* L
Wes., haud necessario.

EP. AD OCTAVIANUM.

Inter H et Erf. summa est coniunc-
sed post § 1 non dedimus lectiones eo-
codicum congruentes, nisi aliter memo-
dignae sunt. Immane quantum inte-

discrepant codices Germanici et Italici in hac epistola.

1. libenter] *id libenter fecissem* H Erf.
 nulla . . . salutaria] vid. Comm.
 nisi se timere] H; om. *se* M.
 Italia] *et Italia* M.
 ad servitutem adductis] om. H Erf.
 equitatuque] *equitatuque* H Erf.
 distinetur] *destinatur* H Erf.
 iam libertate] *tyrannide* H Erf.
 deinde] om. H Erf.
 adsentatur] H Erf. Crat.; *assentitur* M.
 2. Post . . . postulantibus] om. H Erf.
 bona] om. H Erf.
 recentis] Crat.; *praesentis* MH Erf.
 habet] H Erf. Crat.; *est* M.
 expostulem . . . pro me] H Erf. TD
 (de quibus vid. Comm.) (T = Codex Tur-
 nebi); om. M.
 quamquam] *etsi* H; *et* Erf.
 propitia] M; *prospera* H Erf.
 inimicus] M; *infestus* H Erf.
 proprium periculum] *propria malum* H Erf.
 3. publicam] *publicandam* H Erf.
 creari] om. M¹. De hoc loco vid.
 Comm.
 4. prope iam . . . prostratam] vide
 Comm.
 tribuens honorem] om. H Erf.
 caesus] *avus* M.
 5. ingratum] *ingratum ingratus* M¹.
 relinquitur, civis hostis] om. H Erf.
 petitur] H Erf. Crat.; *ponitur* M.
 medio] *ex medio* H Erf.
 ab] add. Wes.

- Cogit . . . timere] H Erf.; om. M.
 6. dementique] libri; *labentique* Wes.
 ipsum] Crat.; *ipse* libri.
 dixi] *edixi* M.
 patriae Paridem] *patrem patriae* H
 Erf.
 praedicebant] Lamb.; *praedicabant*
 libri.
 7. verissime memoria] M; *verissimae*
memoriae H Erf.
 consulem] *quos* H Erf., et idem mox.
 et hostem] om. H Erf.
 poterit] H Erf. Crat.; *conabitur* M.
 peccare] libri; *peccass.* vulg.
 8. concupiscis] H Erf. Crat.; *concu-*
pisti M.
 malorum] *maiorum* M.
 si qui ex] om. *si* M.
 appellemus] H Erf.; *invocemus* M¹;
vocemus vulg.
 9. sepultae] om. M¹; *sepulturas* H
 Erf. T.
 reliquiae] om. H Erf.
 omnis] *hominum* H Erf.
 decorarunt] *decoravero* H Erf.
 XVIII.] M (marg.); *tredecim* M; XVI.
 H Erf.
 ut non posset non confiteri] *aut confle-*
retur H Erf.
 posset] *possit* M.
 eam potentiam] *eum potentium* M; *eum*
 (om. *potentiam*) H Erf.
 qui] add. Wes.
 Iulianos] *villianos* vel *iulianos* M.
 rem p. . . obtineret] *testamento sibi*
rem p. legatam riderit H Erf.
 10. vivus] *vixit* H Erf.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

[The Editors mentioned very rarely are referred to in the *Adn. Crit.* by their full names.]

corr.	= <i>correzit</i> ; corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.
fort.	= <i>fortasse</i> (i.e. perhaps the right reading is 'so and so'); <i>qu.</i> indicate less degree of probability.
om.	= <i>omisit</i> .
coni.	= <i>coniecit</i> or <i>coniectura</i> (in all its cases).
lect.	= <i>lectio</i> (in all its cases).
Comm.	= <i>Commentarium</i> (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.
Adn. Crit.	= <i>Adnotatio Critica</i> (in all its cases).
del.	= <i>delevit</i> .
ins.	= <i>inseruit</i> .
libri	= the consensus of the best mss.
edd.	= the reading of most editors.
M	= codex Mediceus.
M ¹	= codex M <i>a prima manu</i> .
M ²	= codex M <i>a secunda manu</i> .
marg.	= <i>secundum correctionem marginalem</i> .
H	= codices Harleiani (described in Introd. to vol. I ² , pp. 74 ff., and in Pref. to vol. I ² , and in Introd. to vol. II).
P	= codex Parisinus 17812 (see Introd. to vol. II., p. lx; vol. IV., p. c).
T	= codex Turonensis (described in Introd. to vol. I ¹ , pp. 78 ff.).
Pal	= codex Palatinus 598, called by Gruter Palatinus Sextus (see Introd. vol. II., p. lxxxiii).
E	= codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis 252 (see Introd. to vol. II p. lxxxiv).
C	= codex Cratandrinus.
c	= editio Cratandrina (1528).
Crat.	= Cratander.
Z	= codex Tornaesianus.
Zl	= codex Tornaesianus teste Lambino.
Zb	= codex Tornaesianus teste Bosio.
X, Y	= pseudo-codices Bosiani (commonly called, respectively, codex Crusellinu and Decurtatus).

- A** = codex Antonianus.
F = codex Færninus.
R = editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).
I = editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).
N = ed. Neapolitana (Naples, 1474).
Vict. = Victorius (Venice, 1536–1571).
Corrad. = Corradus (*Epp. ad Att.* Venice, 1544).
Mur. = Muretus (*Variae lectiones*, Venice and Paris, 1559–86).
Mal. = Malaspina (Venice, 1564).
Lamb. = Lambinus (Paris, 1566; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).
Ursin. = Orsini.
Man. = Ed. of Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).
Bos. = Simeo Boaius (*Epp. ad Att.* Limoges, 1580).
Grut. = Gruter (Hamburg, 1618).
Graev. = Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).
Gron. = Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).
Ern. = Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).
Facc. = Facciolati (Padua, 1738).
Sch. = Schütz (Halle, 1809).
Or. = Orelli (Zurich, 1845).
Matth. = Matthiae (Leipsic, 1849).
k = Klotz (1st ed., Teubner, Leipsic, 1858).
Kl = Klotz (2nd ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1869, 1870).
Hofm. = Hofmann, Ausgewählte Briefe (Berlin, ed. 1, 1860; ed. 2, besorgt von K. Lehmann, 1892).
Boot. = I. C. G. Boot. (*Epp. ad Att.* Amsterdam, ed. 1, 1865; ed. 2, 1886).
Boot, Obs. } = Boot's *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* (Amsterdam, 1880).
Crit. }
Müll. = C. F. W. Müller (Progr. Landsberg, 1865).
Btr. = Baiter & Kayser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).
Kays. = Kuyser.
Koch. = Koch (Einladungs-Programm, May, 1868).
Büch. = Bücheler (*Q. Cic. Reliquiae*, Teubner, Leipsic, 1868, and *Mus. Rhen.* xi.).
Madv. = Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vols. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871–3; vol. iii., 1884).
Wes. = Wesenberg (Teubner, Leipsic, 1872, 1873).
Wes. Em. = Wesenberg's *Emendationes* (Hauniae, 1840).
Wes. Em. } = Wesenberg's *Emendationes Alterae*, Teubner (Leipsic, 1873).
Alt. }
Peerlk. = Peerlkamp.
Pluyg. = Pluygers.
Streicher = Oscar Streicher's *De Ciceronis Epistulis ad Familiares emendandis* (in vol. iii. of the *Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses*) (Teubner, Leipsic, 1884).
Lehmann = *Quaestiones Tullianae, Pars Prima, de Ciceronis epistolis, scripsit C. A. Lehmann* (Prague and Leipsic, 1886).

- Lehmann, De } = De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendan
 epp. ad Att. } scriptis C. A. Lehmann (Berlin, 1892).
 Mendels. = M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistularum libri sedecim edidit L. Mend
 sohn (Leipsic, 1893).
 Schmidt = Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero von O. E. Schn
 (Leipsic, 1893).
 Schmidt, O. E. } = De epistulis et a Cassio et ad Cassium post Caesarem occisum d
 (Cass.) } Quaestiones chronologicae (Leipsic, 1877).
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 (Letzten Kämpfe) } (Jahrbuch für klass. Philologie, Suppl. Band xiii. 665-67:
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 (Die handschrift- } cus, Q. Cicero, M. Brutus in Italien (in vol. x. of
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Professors O. E. Schmidt and L. Gurlitt have, besides the works mentioned abo
 written many valuable monographs, to which full reference has been made when th
 are mentioned in the Commentary.

ORDER OF LETTERS.

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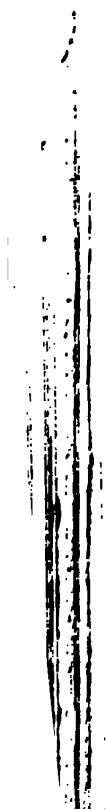
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